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## Natpis Gaja Orhivija Amempta

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Analizira se natpis Gaja Orhivija Amempta s Poljuda u Splitu (CIL III, 2082), člana obitelji carskog roba i dispensatora. Natpis se razmatra s epigrafskog, prozopografskog i onomastičkog gledišta. Donose se zaključci o njegovoj dataciji, provenijenciji i okolnostima nastanka u kontekstu rimskodobnih carskih posjeda na splitskom poluotoku proizašlih iz *ager publicus*.

*Ključne riječi:* Dalmacija, Split, antika, carski posjed, familia Caesaris, natpisi

## The inscription of Gaius Orchivius Amemptus

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The inscription of Gaius Orchivius Amemptus from Poljud in Split (CIL III, 2082), a member of the family of an imperial slave and dispensator, is analysed. The inscription is considered from the epigraphic, prosopographic and onomastic standpoints. Conclusions are drawn on its dating, provenance and the circumstances of its origins within the context of Roman-era imperial estates on the Split peninsula based on the *ager publicus*.

*Key words:* Dalmatia, Split, Antiquity, imperial estate, familia Caesaris, inscriptions

## I. Uvod

U rimskodobnoj epigrafskoj baštini istočne obale Jadrana izdvojen je dosad veći broj natpisa kojima se komemoriraju carski robovi (*servi*) i oslobođenici (*liberti*), pripadnici vladarova kućanstva (*familia Caesaris*) s pridruženim zaduženjima unutar carske administracije u provincijama Ilirika kao i Desete italske regije. Unatoč tome, pozornost posvećena ovim spomenicima kao komponentama lociranja princepsovih posjeda u priličnom je nerazmjeru s njihovom važnošću, poglavito uzme li se u obzir njihova znanstvena valorizacija i raščlamba u Istri nasuprot Dalmaciji. Radi se o natpisima koji svojim sadržajnim odlikama i topografskim razmještajem omogućuju pouzdanu ubikaciju imovine koja se nalazila u domeni carskog fiska.<sup>1</sup> Stoga su njihovo registriranje i kontekstualizacija od iznimne važnosti za stvaranje potpunije slike o imovinsko-pravnim i društvenim odnosima u rimskoj Dalmaciji, osobito o prisutnosti cara u agraru, odnosu carske uprave prema njemu i obilježjima tog odnosa. U tom će smislu analiza natpisa carskog dispensatora iz obitelji Gaja Orhivija Amempta (CIL III, 2082) sa splitskog Poljuda – koji nije dosad u tom kontekstu bio razmatran – ponuditi prilog katalogu carskih posjeda antičkog razdoblja u srednjoj Dalmaciji. Osim zbog bogatstva prozopografskih i onomastičkih podataka koje donosi, natpis je zanimljiv utoliko što otkriva smještaj jednoga mogućeg carskog imanja.

Sred vanjskog lica začelnog zida istočnije od dviju kapela pripojenih tijelu samostanske crkve franjevac sv. Ante na splitskom Poljudu uzidan je rimskodobni nadgrobni natpis.<sup>2</sup> Riječ je o četvrtastoj kamenoj ploči u obliku horizontalno položenog pravokutnika (sl. 1). Natpis glasi:

\* Rad je nastao na temelju izlaganja pod naslovom "Oslobođenici *familiae Caesaris* i njihovi natpisi kao komponenta lociranja carskih posjeda u Dalmaciji: primjer Gaja Orhivija Amempta", predstavljenog na IV. kongresu hrvatskih povjesničara, koji se održavao u Zagrebu od 1. do 5. listopada 2012. Pristup natpisu ostvario sam ljubaznošću fra Frane Delića, tada župnika Župe Sv. Trojice sa sjedištem u franjevačkom samostanu na Poljudu.

1 O natpisima carskih robova i oslobođenika kao topografskim indikatorima vladarskih posjeda usp. npr. Starac 1994, str. 136; Matijašić 1998, str. 16; Camodeca 2007, str. 144-145; Camia, Rizakis 2013, str. 79 i d.  
2 O crkvi i samostanu usp. pregledno: Ozretić 1880-1882; Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, str. 216-218; Fisković 1936; Ostojić 1964, str. 328-330; Marasović, Oreb 1976-1977, str. 104-105; Tomić 1997; Matetić 2002, str. 270; Škunca 2002. Knjižica Škunca 1996 mi nije bila dostupna u vrijeme pisanja ovog rada.

## I. Introduction

In the Roman-era epigraphic heritage in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard, a considerable number of inscriptions have been noted as commemorating imperial slaves (*servi*) and freedmen (*liberti*), members of the ruler's household (*familia Caesaris*) with additional duties inside the imperial administration in the provinces of Illyricum and Italic Regio X. Despite this, the attention accorded to these monuments as components in the location of the ruler's estates is out of proportion to their importance, primarily if one takes into consideration their scholarly appreciation and consideration in Istria as opposed to Dalmatia. These are inscriptions in which the content and topographic distribution aid in the location of the properties encompassed by the imperial fiscus.<sup>1</sup> Their registration and contextualization is thus of exceptional importance to the creation of a more complete picture of property rights and social relations in Roman Dalmatia, particularly of the presence of the emperor in local agrarian systems, i.e., the imperial administration's relationship thereto and the character of this relationship. In this sense, the analysis of the inscription of the imperial *dispensator* from the family of Gaius Orchivius Amemptus (CIL III, 2082) from Poljud on the northern side of the Split peninsula – which was not previously examined in this context – will serve as a contribution to the catalogue of imperial estates in central Dalmatia during Antiquity. Besides the wealth of prosopographic and onomastic data it provides, the inscription is intriguing to the extent that it reveals the location of a possible imperial estate.

A Roman-era funerary inscription is built into the mid-section of the external face of the rear wall of the more easterly of the two chapels attached to the Franciscan Church of St. Anthony in Split's Poljud.<sup>2</sup>

\* This work emerged on the basis of a paper entitled "Oslobođenici *familiae Caesaris* i njihovi natpisi kao komponenta lociranja carskih posjeda u Dalmaciji: primjer Gaja Orhivija Amempta", presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> Congress of Croatian Historians held in Zagreb on 1-5 October 2012. I was granted access to the inscription thanks to the kindness of Fr. Frane Delić, then the pastor of the Holy Trinity Parish seated in the Franciscan monastery in Split's Poljud.

1 On the inscriptions of imperial slaves and freedmen as topographic indicators of imperial estates, cf. e.g. Starac 1994, p. 136; Matijašić 1998, p. 16; Camodeca 2007, pp. 144-145; Camia, Rizakis 2013, p. 79 ff.  
2 On the church and monastery, cf. in overview: Ozretić 1880-1882; Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, pp. 216-218; Fisković 1936; Ostojić 1964, pp. 328-330; Marasović, Oreb 1976-1977, pp. 104-105; Tomić 1997; Matetić 2002, p. 270; Škunca 2002. Škunca's booklet



Sl. 1. Natpis Gaja Orhivija Amempta (CIL III, 2082), franjevački samostan sv. Ante, Poljud, Split (foto: I. Basić)  
Fig. 1. Inscription of Gaius Orchivius Amemptus (CIL III, 2082), Franciscan Monastery of St. Anthony, Poljud, Split (photograph: I. Basić)

*C(aio) Orchivio Amempto decur(ioni) / ann(or)um  
XIIII Orchivia Phoébe / mater fecit sibi et Amempto  
Caésaris Aug(usti) / disp(ensatori) coniugi et liber-  
tis libertabusq(ue) posterisq(ue) / suis et eorum et  
Rhodino Amempti Caésaris / in fronte cum taberna  
p(edes) LII in agro p(edes) XLV hoc monument(um)  
/ sive sepulchrum est extran<e=I>um heredem non  
sequetur*

Natpis je prvi put objavljen u zbirci natpisa isusovca Francesca Antonija Zaccarije *Marmora Salonitana*, koja je tiskana kao prilog drugom svesku Farlatijeva djela *Illyricum sacrum* 1753. godine. Njegov prijepis preuzeo je dvadesetak godina kasnije Sebastiano Donati u svojim dopunama Muratorijeve zbirke natpisa. Potom je natpis na temelju autopsije objavio Anton von Steinbüchel 1820. godine; Zaccarijin prijepis vjerno je slijedio Matija Petar Katančić u prvom svesku knjige – korpusa natpisa s komentarima – *Istri adcolarum geographia vetus*, tiskane posmrtno u Budimu 1826. godine. Na licu mjesta ga je prepisao britanski putopisac John Gardner Wilkinson, pa je tako objavljen i u njegovoj knjizi *Dalmatia & Montenegro* godine 1848.<sup>3</sup> Napokon je tridesetak godina kasnije

This is a rectangular stone slab positioned horizontally (Fig. 1). The inscription reads:

*C(aio) Orchivio Amempto decur(ioni) / ann(or)um  
XIIII Orchivia Phoébe / mater fecit sibi et Amempto  
Caésaris Aug(usti) / disp(ensatori) coniugi et liber-  
tis libertabusq(ue) posterisq(ue) / suis et eorum et  
Rhodino Amempti Caésaris / in fronte cum taberna  
p(edes) LII in agro p(edes) XLV hoc monument(um)  
/ sive sepulchrum est extran<e=I>um heredem non  
sequetur*

The inscription was first published in a collection of inscriptions compiled by the Jesuit Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, *Marmora Salonitana*, which was printed as an appendix to the second volume of Farlati's book *Illyricum sacrum* in 1753. His transcription was taken over 21 years later by Sebastiano Donati in his supplements to Muratori's collection of inscriptions. The inscription was then published by Anton von Steinbüchel in 1820 based on a close examination; Matija Petar Katančić faithfully adhered to Zaccaria's transcript in the first volume of his book – a corpus of inscriptions with commentaries – *Istri adcolarum geographia vetus*, printed posthumously in Budapest in 1826. It was transcribed *in situ* by British travel writer John Gardner Wilkinson, and thus published in his book *Dalmatia & Montenegro* in 1848.<sup>3</sup> Finally,

3 Zaccaria 1753, str. XVIII, br. 2 (autor daje i opširan komentar natpisa, prvi se zalažući za lekciju *dispensator*); Donati 1774, str. 312, br. 3 (u posljednjem retku umjesto NON tiskano je NOM); Steinbüchel 1820, str. 24, br. 69; Katančić 1826, str. 25, br. CLVII; Wilkinson Gardner 1848, str. 150. Ozretić 1880-1882 u detaljnom opisu samostana i njegovih starina (s prijepisom većine natpisa s nadgrobnih spomenika), ovaj natpis uopće ne spominje. Krivić 1990, str. 7 zaključuje da je

from 1996 was not available to me when writing this work.

3 Zaccaria 1753, p. XVIII, no. 2 (the author also provided an extensive commentary on the inscription, first advocating the reading *dispensator*); Donati 1774, p. 312, no. 3 (in the final line, NON was printed instead of



objelodanjen i u Mommsenovom *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*. Zaccaria, Donati, Steinbüchel, Katančić i Wilkinson Gardner natpis su objavili s greškama u čitanju, a Mommsen potpuno korektno.<sup>4</sup> Ipak, Mommsen u Korpus nije uvrstio referencu na Katančićevu knjigu, iako je poznavao, visoko cijenio i izričito pohvalio ovo njegovo djelo.<sup>5</sup>

Nadgrobnni natpis je Gaju Orhiviju Amemptu, decurionu umrlome u dobi od 18 godina, dala postaviti majka, Orhivija Feba. Namijenila ga je ujedno sebi te svom suprugu Amemptu, carskom robu i dispensatoru (*Caesaris Augusti* uz njegovo ime mora podrazumijevati *servus*), te svojim oslobođenicima i oslobođenicama i njihovim potomcima. Grob je također predviđen za Rodina, roba Orhivijinog muža Amempta. Naznačene su dimenzije grobne parcele: zajedno s tabernom one iznose 52 stope širine i 45 stopa dubine. Grobnica (spomenik) prema zaključnoj formuli nije bila namijenjena nasljednicima. Natpis je uklesan na uglačanoj površini koju uokviruje jedna ravna traka (*fascia*) i profil S-oblika (*cymatium inversum*). Općenito je natpis izvrsno očuvan, s vrlo malo površinskih oštećenja, te potpuno čitljiv. Dimenzije spomenika su 67 × 112 cm, a natpisnog polja 60 × 105 cm.

Tekst je ordiniran u sedam redaka. Slova su vidno nejednakih dimenzija: najveća su u prvom i drugom retku (gdje je uklesano ime pokojnika i donatorice natpisa), najmanja u pretposljednem i posljednjem.<sup>6</sup> Natpis je pisan pravilnom, razgovijetnom i dobro klesanom kapitalom. Mješavina je, uz to, monumentalne kvadratne kapitale (u prvih pet redaka) i *scriptura actuarial* (u posljednja dva retka). Na tri su mjesta upotrijebljeni apeksi: u dedikantičinu imenu *Phoébe*, u drugom retku, te u naslovu *Caésaris* u trećem i petom retku. U razmacima između svake riječi i kratice uklesani su interpunkcijski znakovi u obliku trokuta (*triangulum distinguens*). Na natpisu je istaknuto slovo

approximately thirty years later, it was also published in Mommsen's *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*. Zaccaria, Donati, Steinbüchel, Katančić and Wilkinson Gardner published the inscription with errors in the reading, while Mommsen's was entirely correct.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, Mommsen did not include a reference to Katančić's book in the CIL, even though he was familiar with, highly valued and explicitly commended this work.<sup>5</sup>

The funerary inscription dedicated to Gaius Orchivius Amemptus, a decurion who died at the age of 18, was ordered by his mother, Orchivia Phoebe. She intended it also for herself and her spouse, Amemptus, an imperial slave and dispensator (*Caesaris Augusti* next to his name must imply *servus*), and his freedmen and women and their descendants. The tomb was also foreseen for Rhodinus, a slave of Orchivia's husband Amemptus. The dimensions of the grave plot are specified: together with the taberna, they are 52 feet wide and 45 feet long. The tomb (monument), according to the concluding formula, was not intended for heirs.

The inscription was carved onto a polished surface which is framed by a straight band (*fascia*) and S-shaped moulding (*cymatium inversum*). In general, the inscription is superbly preserved, with very little surface damage, and is entirely legible. The monument's dimensions are 67 × 112 cm, while those of the epigraphic field are 60 × 105 cm.

The text is ordered in seven lines. The letters have visibly differing dimensions: the largest are in the first and second lines (where the names of the deceased and the inscription's donor are carved), while the

ploča ugrađena za vrijeme gradnje kapele 1678. godine. Škunca 2002, str. 192 donosi prijepis natpisa, bez razrješavanja kratica te s ispuštenom imenicom *heredem* u posljednjem retku. Cambi 1985-1986, str. 104 daje vlastito čitanje natpisa. Natpis su u sklopu specijalističkih istraživanja spominjali i drugi autori, npr. Boulvert 1974, str. 273, br. 68; Cambi 1987, str. 271-272 i Taf. 47e; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2001, str. 4; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006b, str. 69, 73.

4 Usp. komentar uz CIL III, 2082. Mommsen neprecizno navodi da je natpis zatekao *in hortorum macerie*. Wilkinson Gardner 1848, str. 150 navodi da je "built into the wall of the Convent".

5 Usp. o tome: Kuntić Makvić, Šegvić 1992, str. 171, bilj. 1; Kuntić Makvić 2006, str. 252 i bilj. 59, 253.

6 Zbog položaja natpisa nije bilo moguće izmjeriti dimenzije slova.

NOM); Steinbüchel 1820, p. 24, no. 69; Katančić 1826, p. 25, no. CLVII; Wilkinson Gardner 1848, p. 150. Ozretić 1880-1882 in a detailed description of the monastery and its antiquities (with a transcription of most inscriptions from grave monuments) did not even mention this inscription. Krivić 1990, p. 7 concluded that the slab was installed during construction of the chapel in 1678. Škunca 2002, p. 192 provided a transcript of the inscription, without resolving the abbreviations and with omission of the noun *heredem* in the final line. Cambi 1985-1986, p. 104 provided his own reading of the inscription. The inscription was also mentioned by other scholars within the context of specialized research, e.g. Boulvert 1974, p. 273, no. 68; Cambi 1987, pp. 271-272 and Taf. 47e; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2001, p. 4; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006b, pp. 69, 73.

4 Cf. the commentary accompanying CIL III, 2082. Mommsen inaccurately stated that the inscription was found *in hortorum macerie*. Wilkinson Gardner 1848, p. 150 said it was "built into the wall of the Convent".

5 Cf. on this: Kuntić Makvić, Šegvić 1992, p. 171, note 1; Kuntić Makvić 2006, p. 252 and note 59, 253.

I u riječi *LIBERTIS* u četvrtom retku, dok je slovo *T* na kraju šestog retka vertikalno izduženo, zbijeno uz rub natpisnog polja i gornjim potezom natpisano ostalim slovima (*littera columnata*). Pridjev *extraneus*, 3 u posljednjem retku previdom sadrži slovo *I* umjesto *E*. Ligatura nema. Ostavljajući po strani epigrafsko-paleografske kriterije kao najmanje pouzdan element datacije spomenika, zadržat ćemo se na elementima sadržaja teksta.

## II. Prozopografske i onomastičke bilješke

G. Orhivije Amempto imenovan je vrlo jednostavnim tročlanim imenskim obrascem (tip *tria nomina*), bez navođenja filijacije, tribusa i oznake podrijetla. Takav se imenski obrazac javlja kako kod slobodnorodenih rimskih građana tako i kod oslobođenika. Gentilno ime *Orchivius* po svemu je sudeći italiskog porijekla, jer je ondje osobito učestalo (prema Alföldyju naročito u mjestu Preneste), ali u obliku *Orcivius*. Inačica *Orchivius* prisutna je u afričkim pokrajinama Carstva.<sup>7</sup> U Dalmaciji su nositelji tog nomena poznati jedino na ovom natpisu. Na području susjedne desete italiske pokrajine (*Venetia et Histria*) evidentirano je sedam natpisa s nomenom *Orcivius*, s potvrđama za ukupno deset nositelja,<sup>8</sup> ali nije jasno stoje li oni u kakvoj korelaciji s jedinim posvjedočenim dalmatinskim primjerom.

Kognomen *Amemptus* također je zastupljen u Italiji, a u Dalmaciji možda na još jednom nepotpuno sačuvanom natpisu oslobođenika i sevira Olibija iz Narone.<sup>9</sup> Imena Orhivijeva oca i majke, *Rhodinus* i *Phoebe*, poznata su i proširena na čitavom ozemlju rimske države; uz to što su grčke provenijencije – te je utoliko vjerojatnije da pripadaju robovima ili oslobođenicima – nisu ni datacijski ni socijalno posebni

smallest are in the penultimate and last lines.<sup>6</sup> The inscription is written in regular, legible and well-carved capitals. It is additionally a combination between *capitalis quadrata monumentalis* (in the first five lines) and *scriptura actuarialis* (in the last two lines). Apices were used in three places: in the dedicant's name *Phoébe* in the second line, and in the title *Caésaris* in the third and fifth lines. Triangular punctuation marks (*triangulum distinguens*) were carved into the spaces between each word and abbreviation. The letter *I* in the word *LIBERTIS* in the fourth line is emphasized, while the letter *T* at the end of the sixth line is vertically elongated, squeezed against the edge of the epigraphic field and in the upper section overwritten with other letters (*littera columnata*). The adjective *extraneus*, 3 in the final line erroneously contains the letter *I* instead of *E*. There are no ligatures. Leaving aside epigraphic/paleographic criteria as the least reliable element for dating monuments, I shall focus on the elements contained in the text itself.

## II. Prosopographic and onomastic notes

Gaius Orchivius Amemptus is named using a very simple system of three names (the *tria nomina* type), without citing the filiation, tribe nor indication of origin. Such a name formula was used for both freeborn Roman citizens and freedmen. The gentilicium *Orchivius* was by all indications of Italic origin, because it was particularly common there (especially in Preneste according to Alföldy), albeit in the form *Orcivius*. The *Orchivius* variant was present in the Empire's African provinces.<sup>7</sup> In Dalmatia, those who bore this name have been recorded only in this inscription. In the territory of the neighbouring Italic Regio X (*Venetia et Histria*) seven inscriptions with the nomen *Orcivius* have been recorded, with confirmation of a total of ten bearers,<sup>8</sup> but it is unclear as to

7 Alföldy 1969, str. 105, s. v. *Orchivius*. Za afričke primjere usp. npr. CIL VIII, 4604, 7694, 8253, 8263, 8963. Na natpisu iz Cirte u Numidiji (CIL VIII, 7625=19563) prisutna su oba oblika: *Caius Orcivius Pusincinus* i *Orchivia Urbana*. O razvitku rimske onomastičke sheme (s osobitim obzirom na carske robove i oslobođenike) usp. općenito Cagnat 1914, str. 80-87; Boulvert 1974, str. 38-44; Keppie 1991, str. 25-29; Salway 1994; Solin 2002.

8 *Orcivije* Maksim i dva *Orcivija* iz iste obitelji čiji se prenamen i kognomen nisu sačuvali (AE 1998, 559, Bale ili Pula), *Orcivija* Nigela (CIL V, 3317, Verona), *Orcivija* Marcela (CIL V, 3442, Verona), *Publije* *Orcivije* Fronto i *Orcivija* Kvarta (CIL V, 8152, Pula), *Gaj* *Orcivije* Optat (InscrIt X-1, 341, Pula), *Orcivije* (InscrIt X-1, 600, Pula), *Gaj* *Orcivije* Restitut (InscrIt X-1, 340, Pula).

9 CIL III, 1836; Alföldy 1969, str. 147.

6 Due to the position of the inscription, it was impossible to measure the dimensions of the letters.

7 Alföldy 1969, p. 105, s. v. *Orchivius*. For African examples, cf. e.g. CIL VIII, 4604, 7694, 8253, 8263, 8963. On an inscription from Cirta in Numidia (CIL VIII, 7625=19563) both forms are present: *Caius Orcivius Pusincinus* and *Orchivia Urbana*. On the development of the Roman naming system (with particular consideration of imperial slaves and freedmen) cf. in general Cagnat 1914, pp. 80-87; Boulvert 1974, pp. 38-44; Keppie 1991, pp. 25-29; Salway 1994; Solin 2002.

8 *Orcivius* Maximus and two *Orcivii* from the same family whose praenomina and cognomina have not been preserved (AE 1998, 559, Bale or Pula), *Orcivia* Nigella (CIL V, 3317, Verona), *Orcivia* Marcella (CIL V, 3442, Verona), *Publius* *Orcivius* Fronto and *Orcivia* Quarta

indikativna.<sup>10</sup> Ime Amemptova roba, *Rhodinus*, rijetko se pojavljuje u Dalmaciji. Realnom se, prema tome, čini pretpostavka da se kod nositelja gentilicija *Orchivius* u ovom slučaju radilo o doseljenicima ili njihovim potomcima. U Orhivijevu imenskom obrascu nema tragova neslobodnog statusa roditelja. Jedini epigrafski indiciji koji bi na to mogli upućivati izbjegnute su ispuštanjem filijacije. Gaj Orhivije Amempto imao je, dakle, puni status osobe s rimskim građanskim pravom, sva prava i obveze rimskoga civiteta. Je li Orhivije doista rođen nakon stjecanja slobode obaju roditelja? Prema tekstu natpisa, naime, njegov otac Amempto je u trenutku sinove smrti još uvijek bio u ropskom statusu (on je *Caesaris Augusti dispensator*). Sinovljevi punopravni civitet treba, stoga, objasniti na drugi način. U tome je od pomoći imenski obrazac njegove majke, Orhivije Febe. Sin je, naime, naslijedio majčin, a ne očev gentilicij, a kao kognomen je uzeo jednočlano ime svoga oca. Dekurion Gaj Orhivije očigledno je iz pijeteta uzeo očevo ime kao svoj kognomen.

Pokojnikova majka imenovana je gentilnim imenom i kognomenom, što je bio minimum standardnoga rimskog imenskog obrasca za žene. Filijacija je ispuštena. U svemu, dakle, iz njezinog imenskog obrasca jasno proizlazi da je Orhivija Febe u vrijeme sastavljanja natpisa bila punopravna rimska građanka. S obzirom na nedostatak filijacije, nije moguće odrediti je li bila slobodnorodena rimska građanka ili je stekla civitet tek u svom naraštaju, zbog manumisije. Izostavljanje filijacije redovito je pouzdan indikator pojedinca čiji su preci bili neslobodne osobe, odnosno upućuje na prikrivanje robovskog podrijetla roditelja. Moguće je, dakle, da su roditelji Orhivije Febe bili ropskoga statusa. Grčki kognomen (*Phoebe*) može, ali i ne mora, u nadgrobnoj epigrafiji ukazivati na recentnog oslobođenika, odnosno na robovsko porijeklo nositelja. U kombinaciji s izuzimanjem filijacije ta se mogućnost povećava.<sup>11</sup> Ipak, nema razloga smatrati da je majka Gaja Orhivija bila oslobođenica. Naime, Orhivijin gentilicij – a ne očev – nosi i njezin sin Gaj, što svakako znači da je sin rođen od majke punog građanskog prava, a time i prava da sinu prenese vlastiti *nomen gentilicium*. U protivnom, sin ne bi

whether they were in any correlation with the confirmed Dalmatian example.

The cognomen Amemptus was also present in Italy, while in Dalmatia it possibly existed, based on a single incompletely preserved inscription of the freedman and sevir Olibius from Narona.<sup>9</sup> The names of Orchivius' father and mother, Amemptus and Phoebe, were known and widespread throughout the Roman Empire, and besides being of Greek origin – making it all the more likely that they belonged to slaves or freedmen – they are not particularly indicative, either chronologically or socially.<sup>10</sup> The name of Amemptus' slave, Rhodinus, appeared rarely in Dalmatia. Therefore, the hypothesis that the bearers of the gentilicium Orchivius were in this case settlers in the region or their descendants would appear plausible.

There are no traces of the servile status of Orchivius' parents in his name formula. The sole epigraphic indication that could indicate this was avoided by leaving out the filiation. Gaius Orchivius Amemptus had, therefore, the full status of a person with Roman citizenship, and all rights and obligations pursuant thereto. Was Orchivius truly born after both of his parents had acquired their freedom? For according to the text of the inscription, his father Amemptus still had slave status at the time of his son's death (he was *Caesaris Augusti dispensator*). The son's full Roman citizenship should thus be differently explained. Some help here can be provided by his mother's name formula, Orchivia Phoebe. The son inherited his mother's – rather than his father's – gentilicium, while he assumed his father's only name as his cognomen. The decurion Gaius Orchivius obviously assumed his father's name as his cognomen due to filial piety.

The mother of the deceased was designated by her gentilicium and cognomen, which was the minimum standard of the Roman name formula for women. The filiation was omitted. Everything in her name formula clearly indicates that at the time when the inscription was written Orchivia Phoebe was a full Roman citizen. Given the lack of filiation, it is impossible to determine whether she was a free-born Roman citizen or whether she obtained citizenship only during her lifetime, as a result of manumission. The omission of filiation is regularly a reliable indicator of an individual whose predecessors were not free, i.e., it points to the concealment of the slave origin of one's parents. It is thus possible that Orchivia Phoebe's parents were slaves. In funerary epigraphy, a Greek

10 Alföldy 1969, str. 264, 282.

11 Ross Taylor 1961, str. 127, 128, smatra da se ovo pravilo može primijeniti na većinu slučajeva prije Karakalina edikta. Weaver 1972, str. 118, smatra da je Orhivija Febe bila *ingenua*. Nasuprot tome, Mihăilescu-Bîrliu 2006a, str. 162, smatra Orhiviju Febe oslobođenicom, pozivajući se na statistiku H. Solina, koji je utvrdio da je kognomen *Phoebe* naročito čest među oslobođeničkom populacijom.

(CIL V, 8152, Pula), Gaius Orcivius Optatus (InscrIt X-1, 341, Pula), Orcivius (InscrIt X-1, 600, Pula), Gaius Orcivius Restitutus (InscrIt X-1, 340, Pula).

9 CIL III, 1836; Alföldy 1969, p. 147.

10 Alföldy 1969, pp. 264, 282.



smio koristiti puno trostruko rimsko ime: iz njegovog bi se imena vidjelo da je sin robova. Majka i sin su, nedvojbeno, rimski građani – sin od rođenja, a majka barem od svoje vrlo rane mladosti (moguće je da je slobodnorodena – *ingenua*). Ovaj se zaključak dobro uklapa u opću tendenciju u modelu sklapanja brakova carskih robova i oslobođenika, prisutnu od vremena Klaudijeve vladavine: od toga se doba i *Caesaris servi* i *Augusti liberti* sve učestalije žene slobodnorodnim građankama.<sup>12</sup>

Posjedovanje istovjetnoga gentilicija kod majke i sina upućuje na daljnje važne konstatacije. Prije svega, smije se zaključiti da Gajev otac nije nad svojim sinom vršio *patria potestas*. Nadalje, ista činjenica ukazuje na to da u trenutku rođenja sina, Gaja, roditelji nisu posjedovali *ius conubii*, odnosno da su uzajamno bili u različitom građansko-pravnom statusu. Iz istog razloga manjka i patronimik u sinovljevoj denominaciji. Majka mu je bila rimska građanka, a otac je izrijeком naveden kao carski rob, pripadnik *familiae Caesaris*. Budući da je otac, Amempto, bio pripadnik servilnog staleža, preostaje ispitati kako se ta okolnost odražavala na status njihova sina, djeteta rođenog iz veze između rimske građanke i roba.

Rimsko bračno pravo nije predviđjelo mogućnost sklapanja braka između roba i slobodnorodene osobe. Takve zajednice nisu bile zakonski dopuštene (tretirane su kao *contubernium* – neravnopravna zajednica među partnerima, bez pravnih konzekvenci za obje strane), ali su bile tolerirane. I na natpisnoj građi o vezama robova i slobodnorodnih permanentno su se koristili termini kao da se radi o legitimnom braku (*uxor, maritus, coniunx*), što vrijedi i za splitski natpis. Premda su takvi brakovi bili pravno ništavni, preostajale su stanovite pravne mogućnosti kojima se moglo doskočiti nelegalnosti te i takve bračne unije.

U takvim se slučajevima, kada nije bio zasnovan legalni *conubium*, primjenjivao tzv. *ius gentium*, odnosno odredba prema kojoj se građansko-pravni status djeteta nasljeđivao od majke.<sup>13</sup> Zajedno s njim nasljeđivalo se i ime. Dakle, ako je majka bila slobodnorodena, njezin sin iz veze s carskim robom nasljeđivao je majčin puni rimski civitet te njezin *nomen gentilicium*. Klaudijevom intervencijom (*Senatusconsultum Claudianum* iz 52. godine) na neko je vrijeme ova odredba bila stavljena izvan snage, a potom su

cognomen (in this case Phoebe) may, but need not, indicate a recently freed slave, or the slave origin of its bearer. In combination with the omission of the filiation, this possibility increases.<sup>11</sup> Even so, there is no reason to believe that the mother of Gaius Orchivius was a freedwoman. Namely, Orchivia's gentilicium – and not his father's – is also borne by her son Gaius, which certainly means that the son was born to a mother who had full citizenship, and thus the right to convey to her son her *nomen gentilicium*. Otherwise, the son would not have had the right to utilize the full *tria nomina* Roman name: his name would then make it apparent that he was the son of slaves. The mother and son were, undoubtedly, Roman citizens: the son since birth, and the mother at least since a very early age (and she may have been born free – *ingenua*). This conclusion fits in well with the general tendency of marriages between imperial slaves and freedwomen, present since the reign of Claudius: it was from that time that *Caesaris servi* and *Augusti liberti* married free-born women citizens with increasing frequency.<sup>12</sup>

The possession of an identical gentilicium by the mother and son points to a further vital assertion. Above all, one may conclude that Gaius' father did not exercise *patria potestas* over his son. Furthermore, this same fact indicates that at the time his son Gaius was born, the parents did not exercise *ius conubii*, meaning that they had differing civic legal status. This is the same reason for the lack of patronymic in the son's denomination. The mother was a Roman citizen, but the father was explicitly denoted as an imperial slave, a member of *familia Caesaris*. Because the father, Amemptus, was a member of the servile class, it remains to be seen if this circumstance was reflected in the status of their son, a child born from the bond between a Roman citizen and a slave.

Roman marital law did not foresee the possibility of marriage between a slave and a free-born person. Such unions were not legally allowed (they were treated as *contubernium* – unequal unions between the partners, without legal consequences for either party), but they were tolerated. The epigraphic material also reflects the constant use of terms for the bonds between slaves and the free-born as though

12 Weaver 1968, str. 112.

13 Usp. Weaver 1964a, str. 137-139, i Weaver 1972, str. 162, gdje su navedeni i svi relevantni pravni i literarni izvori o ovom pitanju (Gaj, Ulpijan, kompilacija *Pauli sententiae*, Tacit, Svetonije, Tertulijan). Također Weaver 1965, str. 324, Boulvert 1974, str. 304-306, 322-324, i Dumont 1987, str. 107-109.

11 Ross Taylor 1961, pp. 127, 128, thinks that this rule could be applied to most cases prior to the Edict of Caracalla. Weaver 1972, p. 118 states that Orchivia Phoebe was an *ingenua*. By contrast, Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006a, p. 162 believes that Orchivia Phoebe was a freedwoman, citing the statistics of H. Solin, who ascertained that the cognomen Phoebe was particularly common among the freed population.

12 Weaver 1968, p. 112.

je iznova modificirali carevi Vespazijan i Hadrijan, obnovivši izvorni pravni postupak. Klaudijevim zakonom željelo se, naime, doskočiti pravno nedopuštenim vezama slobodnorodenih građanki i robova, time što je žena sankcionirana gubitkom građansko-pravnog statusa: reducirana je na servilni status (*ancilla*) ili, alternativno, oslobođenički (*liberta*), u oba slučaja pod patronatom suprugova gospodara. U *senatusconsultum Claudianum* bio je, ipak, ugrađen pravni lijek koji je omogućavao ženi da zadrži pun civitet, ali na štetu djeteta začeto iz kohabitacije s robom: *ingenua* (*mulier libera*) je mogla ugovoriti *pactio* s vlasnikom svoga nevjenčanog, neslobodnog supruga, po kojemu je mogla ostati punopravnom rimskom građankom, pod uvjetom da dijete postane robom od rođenja (gospodarom bi postajao *dominus* djetetova oca). Zainteresirani je *dominus*, dakle, temeljem Klaudijeve konstitucije mogao steći patronat nad novom robinjom/oslobođenicom (ako ona s njime nije sklopila *pactio*) ili nad njezinim novorođenčetom (ako je *pactio* sklopljena). U prvom slučaju zakonom je diskriminirana majka (dijete bi, pak, tada bilo slobodnorodeno), u drugom slučaju diskriminirano je dijete, koje je samim rođenjem ulazilo u robovski stalež. Za Vespazijanovu i Hadrijanovu principata došlo je do otpora ovakvim pravnim shvaćanjima, koja su u dva navrata učinjena ništetnim, sve u korist davnašnjih odredbi o *ius gentium*. U situaciji zatečenoj između Amempta i Orhivije Febe taj je stari zakonodavni akt išao u prilog njihovu sinu Gaju, jer mu je omogućavao neokrnjeni prijenos rimskoga civiteta od majke. Neovisno o svemu navedenom, premda naoko apsurdna, stoji činjenica da je upravo za Klaudijeve vladavine golema većina carskih robova i oslobođenika imala za žene slobodnorodene građanke,<sup>14</sup> u posvemašnjem neskladu sa citiranim senatskim zaključkom. Uz to, Gaj Orhivije vjerojatno je rođen prije nego što je *senatusconsultum Claudianum* stupio na snagu (v. dalje), tako da se na njega i njegovu majku nije mogao primjenjivati. Oboje su bili punopravni rimski građani, *ingenui*.

### III. Dekurionat i socijalni uzlaz

S obzirom da se u natpisu ne imenuje grad u kojem je pokojnik obnašao svoju službu, prirodno je pretpostaviti da se Orhivijevo članstvo u općinskom vijeću odnosilo na *ordo decurionum* Salone. Kako se spomenik nalazi na salonitanskom teritoriju, to se podrazumijeva, jer bi u protivnom ime nekog drugog

they constituted legitimate marriages (*uxor, maritus, coniunx*), which also pertains to the Split inscription. Although such marriages were legally null and void, there were certain legal possibilities which could be employed to bypass the illegality of such unions.

In such cases, when a legal *conubium* had not been established, the so-called *ius gentium* was applied, which was a provision whereby the child inherited citizenship from the mother.<sup>13</sup> Her name was also inherited with this. Thus, insofar as the mother was free-born, her son from a bond with an imperial slave inherited the mother's full Roman citizenship and her *nomen gentilicium*. This provision was set aside for a time through the intervention of Claudius (the *Senatusconsultum Claudianum* of 52 AD), only to be modified once more by Emperors Vespasian and Hadrian, restoring the original legal procedure. The intent of Claudius' law was to thwart legally impermissible bonds between free-born women and slaves by sanctioning the women with the loss of their citizenship status. The woman was reduced to servile status (*ancilla*) or, alternatively, freed status (*liberta*), in both cases under the patronage of her spouse's master. Even so, a legal remedy was incorporated into the *senatusconsultum Claudianum* which allowed a woman to retain her full citizenship, but at the expense of any children conceived in cohabitation with a slave: an *ingenua* (*mulier libera*) could contract a *pactio* with the owner of her, enslaved spouse, whereby she could remain a full Roman citizen, provided that the child becomes a slave from birth (the master would become the *dominus* of the child's father). So based on the Claudian law, an interested *dominus* could obtain patronage over a new slave/freed-woman (insofar as she did not conclude a *pactio* with him) or over her new-born child (if a *pactio* had been concluded). In the first case, the law discriminated against the mother (the child would, then, have been free-born), and in the second case against the child, who became a member of the slave class upon birth. Resistance to such legal interpretations emerged during the reigns of Vespasian and Hadrian, so they were voided on two occasions in favour of the *ius gentium* provisions of times past. In the situation that held between Amemptus and Orchivia Phoebe, this old legislative provision worked in favour of their son Gaius, because it permitted the undiminished conveyance of Roman citizenship from his mother. Regardless of the

14 Weaver 1965, str. 324; Weaver 1968, str. 112; Weaver 1972, str. 163-169. Šire o *Senatusconsultum Claudianum*: Mouritsen 2011, str. 21-22; Penner 2013, str. 43-46.

13 Cf. Weaver 1964a, pp. 137-139 and Weaver 1972, p. 162, where all of the relevant legal and literary sources on this matter are cited (Gaius, Ulpianus, the compilation *Pauli sententiae*, Tacitus, Suetonius, Tertullianus). Also Weaver 1965, p. 324, Boulvert 1974, pp. 304-306, 322-324 and Dumont 1987, pp. 107-109.



municipaliteta bilo izričito naglašeno. G. Orhivije Amempto umro je u dobi od 18 godina, što znači da je za dekuriona izabran već u adolescentskoj dobi ili čak prije. Nemogućnost punopravnog sudjelovanja u političkom životu robovi su i oslobođenici nerijetko kompenzirali građenjem municipalne karijere svojoj djeci, točnije sinovima, koji kao nositelji pravog civiteta nisu imali takvih zapreka. Imućni i politički utjecajni oslobođenici – naročito oni carski – bez teškoća su postizali izabiranje svojih muških potomaka u gradska vijeća i na prestižne vjerske dužnosti (svećenički kolegiji i dr.). Orhivijevi roditelji su tijekom sinovljeve adolescencije očigledno uspjeli namaknuti priličan imetak (za pretpostaviti je da je pri tome odlučujuća bila očeva unosna služba u *familia Caesaris*), jer su mogli bez problema postići imovinski cenzus potreban da se njihov sin upiše u *ordo decurionum*.<sup>15</sup> Nerijetko se, međutim, događalo da preuranjena smrt potomka preduhitri ambicije za sinovljevim magistraturama – što je i ovdje slučaj. Taj rani mortalitet smatra se glavnim razlogom pojave agregiranja neobično mladih osoba u municipalne *ordines decurionum*: podilazeći utjecajnim roditeljima, na uvažene se magistrature što je moguće prije izabiralo mladog sina, ne vodeći računa o njegovoj dobi i stvarnim sposobnostima za određenu funkciju. Zauzvrat je gradska općina od oca, na taj način zaduženog, mogla očekivati bogato uzdarje u obliku munificijencija – javnim gradnjama na vlastiti trošak, snošenjem troškova za javne službe ili za oficijelne kultove i sl. Odredba o minimalnoj dobi dekuriona od 25 godina – kakva je bila npr. za Flavijevaca – nije tome bila prepreka. Zabilježeni su, tako, među djecom oslobođenika dekurioni u dobi od dvanaest i sedamnaest godina, četverogodišnji svećenici Vulkanova kulta, dvadesetogodišnji duumviri, *quattuorvir praefectus* u dvadesetprvoj i edil u dvadesetdrugoj godini.<sup>16</sup> S dalmatinskoga je prostora, primjerice, poznat ekstreman primjer Lucija Benija Honorata, dječaka umrloga u dobi od deset godina, koji je za života formalno bio izabran u gradsko vijeće

aforementioned provisions, however absurd it may seem, it is a fact that during the reign of Claudius a vast majority of imperial slaves and freedmen had free-born citizens as their wives,<sup>14</sup> in complete contradiction to the cited senatorial conclusion. Additionally, Gaius Orchivius was likely born prior to the entry of the *senatusconsultum Claudianum* into force (see below), so it could not be applied to him and his mother. Both were full Roman citizens, *ingenui*.

### III. The decurionate and social mobility

Since the city in which the deceased performed his duties was not specified in the inscription, it is natural to assume that Orchivius' membership in the municipal council pertained to the *ordo decurionum* of Salona. This is understood, as the monument is located in Salona's territory, for if this were not the case then the name of another municipality would have been explicitly stated. Gaius Orchivius Amemptus died at the age of 18, which means that he was elected to the post of decurion already in his adolescence, or even before. Slaves and freedmen often compensated their inability to participate in political life by building the municipal careers of their children (their sons to be precise), who, as full citizens, did not face such obstacles. Wealthy and politically influential freedmen – particularly imperial – secured the election of their male heirs to town councils and prestigious religious duties (priestly collegia and so forth) without difficulty. When Orchivius was still in adolescence, his parents had obviously managed to obtain considerable assets (it may be assumed that the father's lucrative service in the *familia Caesaris* was decisive in this regard), for they could easily achieve the property qualifications necessary to enrol their son into the *ordo decurionum*.<sup>15</sup> Often, however, an early death of an heir frustrated ambitions for a son's magistrature – which was, in fact, the case here. This early mortality is considered the primary reason for the phenomenon of unusually young individuals joining the municipal

15 Tako Mihăilescu-Bîrliaba 2006a, str. 161. O visini financijske moći i drugim preduvjetima potrebnima za ulaz u *ordo* usp. Starac 2000, str. 146. Plinije spominje iznos od 100.000 sestercija kao minimum za ulazak u gradsko vijeće, ali nije jasno koliko je taj podatak reprezentativan te koliko se mijenjao ovisno o razlikama među municipijima i prolasku vremena. Rodríguez Neila 1983, str. 173, bilj. 91, naglašava imućnost Orhivijevih roditelja i skupoću grobnice.

16 Gordon 1931, str. 66-67, 70; Mouritsen 2005, str. 55-62.

14 Weaver 1965, p. 324; Weaver 1968, p. 112; Weaver 1972, pp. 163-169. For more on the *Senatusconsultum Claudianum*: Mouritsen 2011, pp. 21-22; Penner 2013, pp. 43-46.

15 Thus, Mihăilescu-Bîrliaba 2006a, p. 161. On the level of financial power and other conditions necessary for admittance to the *ordo*, cf. Starac 2000, p. 146. Pliny mentioned a sum of 100,000 sesterce as a minimum for admittance to the municipal council, but it is unclear as whether this was a typical sum and how much this changed depending on differences between *municipia* and the passage of time. Rodríguez Neila 1983, p. 173, note 91, stressed the wealth of Orchivius' parents and the high cost of the tomb.

Ekva.<sup>17</sup> Karakteristično je pritom da je većina djece oslobođenika, nakon svoga promicanja u municipalnu aristokraciju, dosljedno izbjegavala na natpisima istaknuti neugodnu činjenicu da potječu od robovskoga oca: u njihovim se imenskim obrascima servilno porijeklo roditelja u pravilu ne razaznaje, jer sebi pridijevaju respektabilne i “neutralne” kognomene (*Priscus, Iustus, Clemens*).<sup>18</sup> To na splitskom natpisu ipak nije bio slučaj – Gaj Orhivije bez zadržke nosi kognomen svoga oca, iako ispušta filijaciju kao najočitiji izraz očeva neslobodnog statusa. G. Orhivije Amempto ubraja se u rano preminule potomke oslobođenika, tek započete i prerano prekinute afirmacije u mjesnoj municipalnoj zajednici. S društvene točke gledišta predstavlja dobar primjer socijalne mobilnosti u rimskome svijetu, ostvarene u samo dva naraštaja.

#### IV. *Dispensator* ili *dispunctor*?

S obzirom na sasvim malen broj pokrata, čitanje natpisa CIL III, 2082 ne predstavlja teškoću. Jedina donekle kontroverzna pojedinost jest kratica DISP uz Amemptovo ime u četvrtom retku. Položaj kratice u genitivu uz carski naslov *Caesaris Augusti* upućuje da se radi o apoziciji, koja ovdje označava Amemptovu službu unutar carskoga kućanstva (*familia Caesaris*). Navedena kratica može se, načelno govoreći, razriješiti kao *dispensator* ili *dispunctor*.<sup>19</sup> Slijedom toga, neki su autori i kraticu sa splitskog natpisa razriješavali kao *dispunctor*.<sup>20</sup>

Terminu *dispunctor* odgovara grčki termin ἐκλογιστής. Naziv je na natpisima pretežito ograničen na sjevernoafričke provincije (uz dva izolirana primjera iz Dalmacije). Označava “izvanrednog dužnosnika odabranog iz reda najuglednijih građana provincije i ovlaštenog od carske vlasti da nadzire financije mjesne samouprave”,<sup>21</sup> odnosno “računsko-

*ordines decurionum*: in order to curry favour with influential parents, young sons were elected to magistratures at the earliest possible age, without consideration for their age and actual ability to perform these duties. In return, the urban municipality could therefore expect rich gifts from the grateful father in the form of munificence – public construction at his own expense, coverage of the costs of public works or for official cults, etc. The provision on the minimum age of 25 years for a decurion – which was, for example, effective in the Flavian era – did not pose a barrier to this. Thus, among the children of freedmen, instances have been recorded of decurions aged twelve and seventeen, four year-old priests of Vulcan’s cult, twenty year-old duumvirs, a twenty-one year-old *quattuorvir praefectus* and a twenty-two year-old aedile.<sup>16</sup> From Dalmatian territory, there is the extreme example of Lucius Bennius Honoratus, a boy who died at the age of ten and who during his lifetime was formally elected to the municipal council in Aequum.<sup>17</sup> It is typical here that in inscriptions the children of freedmen, after their promotion to the municipal aristocracy, consistently avoided emphasizing the unpleasant fact that their fathers were slaves: in their name formulas, the servile origin of their parents generally cannot be discerned, because they accorded to themselves respectable and “neutral” cognomina (*Priscus, Iustus, Clemens*).<sup>18</sup> This, however, was not the case on this inscription from Split: Gaius Orchivius Amemptus bore his father’s cognomen without reservation, although the filiation, as the most apparent expression of his father’s servile status, was omitted. Gaius Orchivius Amemptus is counted among the early deceased heirs of freedmen, whose affirmation in the local municipal community had only begun and ended too early. From the social standpoint, this is a good example of social mobility in the Roman world, achieved in only two generations.

#### IV. *Dispensator* or *dispunctor*?

Given the small number of abbreviations, the reading of inscription CIL III, 2082 does not pose any difficulties. The only somewhat contestable detail is the abbreviation DISP next to the name Amemptus. The position of the abbreviation in the genitive next to the imperial title *Caesaris Augusti* indicates an

17 CIL III, 9783. Detaljnije: Cambi, Rapanić 1979, str. 100.

18 Gordon 1931, str. 67-68. Mihăilescu-Bîrliiba 2006a, str. 59 i 66 pogrešno navodi da je G. Orhivije Amempto umro u 22. godini.

19 Tako npr. Cagnat 1914, str. 151, 424, i Sandys 1919, str. 298. Primjerice, na hispanskim natpisima (iz provincije Betike) kratica za *dispensator* uglavnom je glasila DISP (CIL II, 2234, 1085, 3526, 3527), a samo jednom je registrirana inačica DIS (CIL II, 5164) – Rodríguez Neila 1983, str. 172, bilj. 86. U samo je jednom slučaju uklesana čitava riječ (CIL II, 1197), a dvaput u obliku DISPENS (CIL II, 1198, 3525).

20 Cambi 1985-1986, str. 104; Cambi 1987, str. 272.

21 Čače 2001, str. 88. Autor u bilj. 23 također primjećuje da se služba dispunktora “načelno povjeravala uglednim građanima”. O tome na primjeru Agrikolina natpi-

16 Gordon 1931, pp. 66-67, 70; Mouritsen 2005, pp. 55-62.

17 CIL III, 9783. For more details: Cambi, Rapanić 1979, p. 100.

18 Gordon 1931, pp. 67-68. Mihăilescu-Bîrliiba 2006a, pp. 59 and 66 erroneously stated that Gaius Orchivius Amemptus died at the age of 22.

financijskog kontrolora”.<sup>22</sup> U sjevernoafričkim provincijama *Mauretania Caesariensis* i *Mauretania Sitifensis* dispunktori su registrirani na ukupno jedanaest natpisa iz osam različitih gradova; kronološki obasežu razdoblje od sredine 3. do sredine 4. stoljeća.<sup>23</sup> Ondje je ta služba postupno poistovjećena s kompetencijama *curator civitatis* (*curator et dispunctor*), objedinivši u istoj osobi funkcije najvišega civilnoga dužnosnika grada (prvaka municipalnog vijeća) i vrhovnoga financijskog dužnosnika municipija. Redovito su pripadali vrhovima municipalne aristokracije, iz uglednih obitelji, a pojedini su uspjeli postići ulazak u *ordo equester*.<sup>24</sup>

Na oba dalmatinska natpisa spominje se neobična funkcija *dispunctor civitatis*, odnosno *dispunctor municipii*. Naslov dispunktora nosio je jedan od municipalnih dužnosnika Ridera (*municipium Ridentarum*), Ekva i Salone – vjerojatno iz vremena Domicijanove vladavine – Tit Flavije Agrikola.<sup>25</sup> Četrdesetak godina poslije Publije Elije Rastorijan bio je *dispunctor civitatis Naronensium* za Hadrijanove vladavine ili nešto kasnije.<sup>26</sup> Njegov status (viteški stalež) i *cursus honorum* obojice bogat uglednim magistraturama (dekurion, edil, duovir *iure dicundo*, duovir kvinkvenal, *curator*, legijski tribun kod starijega; dekurion, duovir, duovir kvinkvenal, kvestor kod mlađega) još jednom potvrđuju da su službu dispunktora mogli vršiti jedino građani punoga rimskog civiteta. U svakom slučaju nije se radilo o pripadnicima *familiae Caesaris*. Uzme li se, dakle, u obzir da su svi poznati sjevernoafrički i dalmatinski dispunktori bili slobodnorodeni, punopravni rimski građani, dapače pripadnici municipalne elite, utoliko je manje vjerojatno da kraticu DISP na splitskom natpisu treba razriješiti kao *dispunctor*. Amempto nije ispunjavao ni jedan od navedenih kriterija: pripadao je servilnom staležu i bio član carskog

apposition, which here indicates the service of Amemptus within the imperial household (*familia Caesaris*). This abbreviation may generally be rendered as either *dispensator* or *dispunctor*.<sup>19</sup> Thus, some scholars rendered the abbreviation from the Split inscription as *dispunctor*.<sup>20</sup>

The term *dispunctor* corresponds to the Greek term ἐκλογιστής. In inscriptions, it is generally limited to the North African provinces (and two isolated examples from Dalmatia). It indicated “an exceptional official selected from among the ranks of the most notable citizens of a province and authorized by the imperial government to oversee the finances of local administration”,<sup>21</sup> or a “controller of accounts and finances”.<sup>22</sup> In the North African provinces of *Mauretania Caesariensis* and *Mauretania Sitifensis*, *dispunctores* were registered on a total of eleven inscriptions from eight different cities; chronologically they encompass the period from the mid-third to mid-fourth centuries.<sup>23</sup> There, this post was gradually equated with the offices of the *curator civitatis* (*curator et dispunctor*), unifying in the same individual the functions of highest civilian official in a city (the leader of the municipal council) and the highest municipal official in charge of finances. They regularly belonged to the top echelons of the municipal aristocracy, were from respected families, and some even managed to secure admittance to the *ordo equester*.<sup>24</sup>

Both Dalmatian inscriptions mention the unusual function of *dispunctor civitatis* and *dispunctor municipii*. The title *dispunctor* was borne by one of the municipal officials of Rider (*municipium Ridentarum*), Aequum and Salona – probably from the time of

sa raspravlja još Bloch 1892, str. 285 i Vulić 1922, str. 1922. Šire o funkcijama dispunktora: Espluga, Pagán 1996, str. 1514-1515.

22 Rendić Miočević 1989, str. 857.

23 Katalog svih natpisa donose Espluga, Pagán 1996, str. 1522-1529. Stariji, nepotpuni katalozi su Liebenam 1905b, str. 1198-1199 i De Ruggiero 1922, str. 1923-1924.

24 Espluga, Pagán 1996, str. 1530-1531.

25 CIL III, 2026 = ILS, 7162 = ILJug III, 1961. O njegovom natpisu usp. Rendić Miočević 1989, str. 857, 866-867, bilj. 20 i Domić Kunić, Radman Livaja 2009, str. 72, 75 i bilj. 28.

26 CIL III, 8783 = ILS, 7163. O natpisu Elija Rastorijana, pronađenu na Putalju ponad Kaštel Sućurca, v. Wilkes 1969, str. 265, 275, 303, 317 i opširno Čače 2001, str. 87-89.

19 Thus, e.g., Cagnat 1914, pp. 151, 424 and Sandys 1919, p. 298. For example, on Hispanian inscriptions (from the province of Baetica), the abbreviation for *dispensator* was mainly DISP (CIL II, 2234, 1085, 3526, 3527), while the variant DIS was only registered once (CIL II, 5164) – Rodríguez Neila 1983, p. 172, note 86. In only one case was the entire word carved (CIL II, 1197), and twice in the form DISPENS (CIL II, 1198, 3525).

20 Cambi 1985-1986, p. 104; Cambi 1987, p. 272.

21 Čače 2001, p. 88. In note 23 the author also noted that the post of *dispunctor* was “generally entrusted to respected citizens”. Bloch discussed this based on the example of Agricola’s inscription as far back as 1892, p. 285 and Vulić 1922, p. 1922. For more on the functions of the *dispunctor*: Espluga, Pagán 1996, pp. 1514-1515.

22 Rendić Miočević 1989, p. 857.

23 A catalogue of all inscriptions was provided by Espluga, Pagán 1996, pp. 1522-1529. Older, incomplete catalogues can be found in Liebenam 1905b, pp. 1198-1199 and De Ruggiero 1922, pp. 1923-1924.

24 Espluga, Pagán 1996, pp. 1530-1531.



kućanstva (*familia Caesaris*). Zato je gotovo sasvim sigurno da u njemu valja vidjeti dispensatora.

Latinskom nazivu *dispensator* ekvivalent je grčka riječ οἰκονομος. “Riječ *dispensator* – prenosimo Matijašićevu definiciju – označava istodobno upravitelja i blagajnika, od *dispensatio* = odmjeravanje, razdioba, uprava, gospodarstvo, odnosno *dispensare* = podijeliti, isplatiti, urediti, odrediti, ali i: upravljati novčanim poslovima”.<sup>27</sup> Njihov rang i opsežnost njihovih zaduženja najsžetije su izraženi u Gajevoj pravnoj definiciji: *Servi quibus permittitur administratio pecuniae, dispensatores appellati sunt* (Gaius, *Inst.* I, 122).

Uloga dispensatora u sklopu *familiae Caesaris* u svojoj je temeljnoj funkciji bila ona posrednika između vladara i uživatelja carske darežljivosti. Od začeta ka je principata, naime, povremena distribucija darova u novcu ili dragocjenostima (*congiaria*) bila integralni dio careva odnosa s užim i širim krugom prijatelja i savjetodavaca, ali i s najširim slojevima naroda u liku svakodnevnih molitelja (*liberalitas*). Postojani odljev sredstava u tom pravcu uvjetovao je pojavu posebnog službenika u carskom kućanstvu čija je zadaća bila da na sebe preuzme kako svakodnevno upravljanje novcem i njegovim isplatama, tako i financijsku evidenciju svih rashoda ovog tipa (*rationes, breviarium rationum*). Jasno, ovako odgovorna dužnost, koja je uključivala stalan pristup caru i nepreglednim sumama novca koje su mu neprestano stajale na raspolaganju, otvarala je vrata mnogim zloupotrebama i malverzacijama, jer je mogućnost ostvarivanja protupravne koristi bila velika. Uz stalnu priliku za otuđenje novca pri redovitim transakcijama, dispensatorima je blizina careve osobe bila redovitim izvorom prihoda, jer je vladar velikodušno nagrađivao svoje službenike.<sup>28</sup> Stoga je, logično, za ovim unosnim položajem u carevoj službi vladala velika potražnja.

Dispensatori su, beziznimno, bili robovskog statusa. Ovo neki autori tumače kao mehanizam kontrole koji je kruna nametala toj kategoriji službenika zaduženih za vrlo osjetljive financijske poslove, potencijalno koruptivne naravi.<sup>29</sup> U njihovom slučaju, manumisija je permanentno odgađana između deset i petnaest godina, do dispensatorove četrdesete ili

Domitian's reign – Titus Flavius Agricola.<sup>25</sup> Roughly forty years later, Publius Aelius Rastorianus was the *dispunctor civitatis Naronensium* during Hadrian's reign or somewhat later.<sup>26</sup> His status (equestrian order) and *cursus honorum* of both men rich in respected magistratures (decurion, aedile, duumvir *iure dicundo*, duumvir *quinquennalis*, curator, and legionary tribune in the case of the older one; decurion, duumvir, duumvir *quinquennalis* and quaestor in the case of the younger) once more confirm that the post of *dispunctor* could only be held by a full Roman citizen. In any case, they were not members of the *familia Caesaris*. Therefore, taking into account that all known North African and Dalmatian *dispunctores* were free-born, full Roman citizens, and in fact members of the municipal elite, it is less likely that the abbreviation DISP on the Split inscription can be rendered as *dispunctor*. Amemptus did not meet any of the aforementioned criteria: he belonged to the servile class and was a member of the imperial household (*familia Caesaris*). This is why it is entirely certain that the abbreviation should be seen as standing for *dispensator*.

The Latin term *dispensator* is equivalent to the Greek word οἰκονομος. “The word *dispensator* – to cite Matijašić's definition – simultaneously denotes an administrator and treasurer, from *dispensatio* = assessment, apportionment, management, economy, and *dispensare* = to allocate, disburse, regulate, determine, but also: administer monetary transactions”.<sup>27</sup> Their rank and the extent of their duties were most concisely expressed in the legal definition by Gaius: *Servi quibus permittitur administratio pecuniae, dispensatores appellati sunt* (Gaius, *Inst.* I, 122).

The role of a *dispensator* within the *familia Caesaris* in its most basic function was to act as a mediator between the ruler and those benefitting from imperial munificence. Since the initiation of the Principate, the occasional distribution of gifts in money or valuables (*congiaria*) was an integral component of the emperor's relations with a narrower or wider

27 Matijašić 1996, str. 177. Šire o dispensatorima: Bloch 1892; Liebenam 1905a; Hirschfeld 1905; Vulić 1922; Boulvert 1970; Weaver 1972; Boulvert 1974; Rodríguez Neila 1983, str. 172-173; Carlsen 1992; Škegro 1999, str. 43-44, 110, 129 (ponajprije o dispensatorima iz carskih rudnika).

28 Millar 1992, str. 136 (šire o carskim oslobođenicima str. 69-83).

29 Bloch 1892, str. 285. Šire: Weaver 1967, str. 13; Weaver 1968, str. 121.

25 CIL III, 2026 = ILS, 7162 = ILJug III, 1961. On his inscription, cf. Rendić Miočević 1989, pp. 857, 866-867, note 20 and Domić Kunić, Radman Livaja 2009, pp. 72, 75 and note 28.

26 CIL III, 8783 = ILS, 7163. On the inscription of Aelius Rastorianus, found in Putalj, above Kaštel Sućurac, see Wilkes 1969, pp. 265, 275, 303, 317 and more broadly Čaće 2001, pp. 87-89.

27 Matijašić 1996, p. 177. For more on *dispensatores*: Bloch 1892; Liebenam 1905a; Hirschfeld 1905; Vulić 1922; Boulvert 1970; Weaver 1972; Boulvert 1974; Rodríguez Neila 1983, pp. 172-173; Carlsen 1992; Škegro 1999, pp. 43-44, 110, 129 (primarily on the *dispensatores* from the imperial mines).

četrdesetpete godine života. Na prijašnjem položaju dispenzatora obično bi ih zamijenili njihovi dotadašnji robovi, odnosno robovi robova (*vicarii*), koji su dotad službovali kao dispenzatorovi zamjenici, tj. opunomoćenici. Iako se kod ovih potonjih radilo o neslobodnim osobama najnižega pravnog statusa u rimskom društvu, i jedni i drugi vršili su znatan utjecaj na financijsku administraciju, upravo zbog važnosti funkcija koje su im bile povjeravane.<sup>30</sup> Stoga su u socijalnoj skali svoga vremena redovito stjecali značaj obrnuto proporcionalan formalnopravnom rangu u kojemu su se nalazili. Dispenzatori su se ubrajali među najutjecajnije i najimućnije službenike srednjega ranga (ispod njih su se nalazili *adiutor* i *vicarius*, iznad *a commentariis* i *tabularius*), upravo zato što su imali ingerencije nad poslovima isključivo financijske prirode: novčane transakcije, isplate itd., i to ne samo u svakom pojedinom provincijskom fisku nego i u središnjim institucijama u Rimu.<sup>31</sup>

S obzirom na genitiv *Amempti Caesaris* uz Rodinovo ime, kao i činjenicu da je imenovan jednostrukim imenom (bez premena, gentilicija i filijacije), pouzdano se može zaključiti da je u vrijeme podizanja splitskog natpisa on, Rodin, bio Amemptov rob. Pripadao je, prema tome, najnižoj pravnoj kategoriji koju je poznavalo rimsko društvo – bio je rob roba, *servus vicarius*.<sup>32</sup> Osobe takvoga građansko-pravnog svojstva bile su prilično brojne, što je bilo posljedica uznapredovale socijalne stratifikacije unutar robovskoga staleža, a prije svega unutar *familiae Caesaris*, gdje su pojedini obogaćeni robovi na visokim dužnostima bili vlasnici čitavoga niza vlastitih robova. U rimskodobnim literarnim, pravnim i epigrafičkim izvorima rob-gospodar naziva se *ordinarius*, a njemu podređeni rob *servus vicarius* (rjeđe: *servus peculiaris*, jer je dio vlasništva – *peculium* – drugoga roba). Kako se, neovisno o svemu, radilo o jednoj vrsti pravne anomalije – neslobodna osoba ne može biti vlasnikom druge neslobodne osobe – nominalno je pravo vlasništva nad robom-vikarijem bilo pridržano od strane cara (*dominus*), koji je jedini mogao dati privolu za manumisiju.<sup>33</sup> U sklopu carskog kućanstva robovi carskih robova dispenzatora bili su prilično uobičajeni: mogli su obavljati administrativnu službu (obično kao zamjenici dispenzatora ili njegovi opunomoćenici u različitim poslovima) ili biti personalni

circle of friends and advisors, but also with the broadest layers of the populace in the form of everyday petitioners (*liberalitas*). The constant outflow of funds in this direction dictated the emergence of a special official in the imperial household whose task was to assume the daily management of money and its disbursement, as well as financial records of all expenditures of this type (*rationes, breviarium rationum*). Clearly, such a responsible duty, which included constant access to the emperor and vast sums of money constantly at his disposal opened the doors to much abuse and fraud, because the opportunities for illicit benefits were considerable. Besides the constant opportunity for appropriating money during regular transactions, the vicinity of the emperor himself was also a regular source of income for the *dispensatores*, because he generously rewarded his officials.<sup>28</sup> It is therefore logical that there was a great deal of demand for this lucrative post in the emperor's service.

*Dispensatores* had, without exception, servile status. Some scholars have interpreted this as a control mechanism which the crown imposed upon this category of officials in charge of very sensitive financial affairs with a high potential for corruption.<sup>29</sup> In their case, manumission was permanently postponed between ten and fifteen years, until the *dispensator* reached the age of forty or forty-five. The *dispensator* was replaced in his previous duties by those who had been his slaves up to that point, i.e., slaves of slaves (*vicarii*), which had previously served as the *dispensator's* deputies or authorized proxies. Even though the latter were enslaved individuals of the lowest legal rank in Roman society, both exercised considerable influence on financial administration, precisely due to the importance of the functions entrusted to them.<sup>30</sup> Thus, in the social scale of their time, they regularly acquired importance in reverse proportion to their formal legal status. *Dispensatores* were counted among the most influential and wealthy officials of the medium rank (the *adiutor* and *vicarius* were below them, while *a commentariis* and *tabularius* had higher status), precisely because they had authority over affairs of an exclusively financial nature: monetary transactions, disbursements, etc., and not only in each individual provincial fiscus, but also in the central institutions in Rome.<sup>31</sup>

30 Weaver 1964c, str. 117 i d.; Weaver 1967, str. 13; Weaver 1972, str. 104.

31 Weaver 1967, str. 13.

32 O toj kategoriji Weaver 1964c, str. 117-118, 120-123 i Dumont 1987, str. 112-114.

33 Weaver 1964c, str. 121.

28 Millar 1992, p. 136 (more on imperial freedmen, pp. 69-83).

29 Bloch 1892, p. 285. For more: Weaver 1967, p. 13; Weaver 1968, p. 121.

30 Weaver 1964c, p. 117 ff.; Weaver 1967, p. 13; Weaver 1972, p. 104.

31 Weaver 1967, p. 13.

robovi, raznolikih i proizvoljnih zaduženja. Treba naglasiti, međutim, da je prema evidenciji koju je saku pio Weaver, velika većina robova ordinarija iz *familia Caesaris* posjedovala samo po jednog roba vikarija (u tehničkom smislu: opunomoćenika), što ne znači da nisu posjedovali i druge, osobne robove, koji se nisu nazivali *vicarii*.<sup>34</sup>

Oblik *Caesaris Augusti* kao oznaka carskih robova koristi se u natpisima najkasnije do flavijevske dinastije, kada pomalo iščezava i zamjenjuje se novim tvorenica: *Caes(aris) ser(vus)*, *Caesaris*, *Caes(aris) n(ostris) ser(vus)* itd. Većina natpisa koji sadrže tu stariju inačicu pripada Augustovoj ili Tiberijevoj vladavini, a općenito se datiraju u predflavijevsko razdoblje.<sup>35</sup> Za vrijeme julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije to nije bio najčešći oblik označavanja pripadnosti staležu carskih robova (bio je to jednostavni genitiv *Caesaris*), već približno treći po učestalosti (drugi je bio oblikovan od carevog prenomena). U kasnijem se razdoblju sintagma *Caesaris Augusti (servus)*, međutim, u pravilu više neće javljati, tako da se njezinu pojavu pouzdano može smjestiti u julijevsko-klaudijevski kontekst. Amempto se na poljudskom natpisu služi tada već pomalo demodiranim oblikom *Caesaris Augusti disp(ensator)*.

Začudnom koincidencijom, u korpusu latinske epigrafičke građe sačuvao se još jedan natpis koji spominje istu obiteljsku zajednicu, odnosno iste dedikante kao onaj splitski (CIL X, 4734 = ILS, 3868, sl. 2).<sup>36</sup> S obzirom da su dedikanti drugog natpisa iznova Amempto, Orhivija Feba i Rodin, on s prozopografske točke gledišta postaje prvorazrednim spomenikom za proučavanje. Pronađen je u Italiji, na teritoriju rimskodobnog municipija *Sinuessa*, u današnjoj općini Mondragone na granici Lacija i Kampanije:

*Nymphis Sanct(is) novis repertis / in villam Sur-  
dinianam Amempti / Caes(aris) l(iberti) et Orcivi-  
ae Phoebe et Rhodini lib(erti) / eorum deduct(is)  
ad eam villam quae et ipsae / maiestati suae se*

Given the genitive *Amempti Caesaris* accompanying the name Rhodinus, and the fact that he is denoted by only a single name (without praenomen, gentilicium and filiation), it may be concluded with certainty that at the time when the Split inscription was commissioned, he, Rhodinus, was the slave of Amemptus. He therefore belonged to the lowest legal category known in Roman society: he was the slave of a slave, *servus vicarius*.<sup>32</sup> Persons with such legal status were rather numerous, which was a result of advanced social stratification within the servile class, and above all within the *familia Caesaris*, where individual enriched slaves at high posts were owners of their own vast array of slaves. In Roman-era literary, legal and epigraphic sources, the owner-slave was called *ordinarius*, while a slave subordinate to him was called *servus vicarius* (more rarely: *servus peculiaris*, because such an individual constituted a part of the property – *peculium* – of another slave). Since, despite everything, this was a sort of legal anomaly – a person without free status could not be the owner of another person – nominally the ownership rights over the *vicarius* slave was accorded to the emperor (*dominus*) who was the only one able to grant consent for manumission.<sup>33</sup> Within the imperial household, slaves of imperial slaves/*dispensatores* were rather commonplace: they could perform administrative service (normally as deputies to the *dispensator* or his assistants in various tasks) or serve as personal slaves, with various and arbitrary duties. It is noteworthy, however, that according to the records gathered by Weaver, a large majority of *ordinarius* slaves from the *familia Caesaris* owned only a single *vicarius* slave (in the technical sense: a proxy), which does not mean that they did not have other, personal slaves, who were not called *vicarii*.<sup>34</sup>

The form *Caesaris Augusti* as a designation of imperial slaves was used in inscriptions up to the end of the Flavian dynasty at the latest, when it began to disappear and was replaced by new formulations: *Caes(aris) ser(vus)*, *Caesaris*, *Caes(aris) n(ostris) ser(vus)*, etc. Most inscriptions which contain this older variant date to the reign of Augustus or Tiberius, and are generally dated to the pre-Flavian era.<sup>35</sup> During the Julio-Claudian dynasty, this was

34 Weaver 1964c, str. 118; Weaver 1972, str. 200-201, 203, 205.

35 Weaver 1964b, str. 135, 138 (Tab. C), 139 (Tab. D); Weaver 1972, str. 73. Vidi i starije prijedloge u Bang 1919, str. 175 i d., što je kritički revidirao Weaver.

36 Šire o tom natpisu: Pagano 1981, str. 875-876, bilj. 29, i fig. 3; Mihăilescu-Bîrliaba 2006a, str. 161-162. Popis starijih objava donosi Mommsen u komentaru uz CIL III, 4734. O natpisu u kontekstu proučavanja kulta nimfi raspravlja Ballentine 1904, str. 94-95. Autor natpis prenosi u krnjem i djelomice netočnom obliku. Prvi ga je u vezu sa splitskim natpisom doveo i uočio odnose među njima Camodeca 2007, str. 145.

32 On this category, Weaver 1964c, pp. 117-118, 120-123 and Dumont 1987, pp. 112-114.

33 Weaver 1964c, p. 121.

34 Weaver 1964c, p. 118; Weaver 1972, pp. 200-201, 203, 205.

35 Weaver 1964b, pp. 135, 138 (Tab. C), 139 (Tab. D); Weaver 1972, p. 73. See also the older proposal in Bang 1919, p. 175 ff., which was critically revised by Weaver.





Sl. 2. Natpis Amempta i Orhivije Febe (CIL X, 4734), Museo Provinciale Campano di Capua ([http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$RECapua\\_00267.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$RECapua_00267.jpg))

Fig. 2. Inscription of Amemptus and Orchivia Phoebe (CIL X, 4734), Museo Provinciale Campano di Capua ([http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$RECapua\\_00267.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$RECapua_00267.jpg))

*edederunt / Imp(eratore) Caesare Vespasiano III M(arco) Cocceio Nerva co(n)s(ulibus)*

Natpis kazuje da su u blizini *villae Surdinianae* bila pronađena nova vrela posvećena nimfama – očigledno fizički povezana s glasovitim termalnim izvorima *Aquae Sinuessanae* koji su se nalazili u neposrednoj blizini grada. Dedicanti natpisa su se, kako se čini, pobrinuli da kanaliziraju (kaptiranjem vodovodnog kanala, skretanjem rukavca ili na neki drugi način) jedan od krakova novootkrivenog ležišta vode ka vili, te na taj način učine jedan dio *villae Surdinianae* svojevrstnom sakralnom zonom vezanom uz kult vodenih nimfi. Komemorirajući taj svoj čin, posvetili su natpis svetim nimfama, podređujući se njihovom veličanstvu.<sup>37</sup> Konzulatima cara Vespazijana i Marka Kokceja Nerve spomenik je apsolutno datiran u 71. godinu. Ovaj je put u Amemptov onomastički obrazac uključena apozicija *libertus*. Osim toga, on je na natpisu iz Sinuese prvonavedeni dedikant, dok je to na splitskom natpisu bila njegova supruga. Prema tome, u trenutku postavljanja natpisa CIL X, 4734, Amempto je već napustio stanje ropstva i bio stekao *status libertatis* – on je carski oslobođenik (*Caesaris libertus*) te samim time izjednačen s položajem rimskoga građanina gotovo u svemu (osim u ograničenom *ius honorum*). Obje se činjenice zrcale u tekstu natpisa.

Međutim, ni iz ovoga natpisa ne saznajemo koji je rimski car bio Amemptov *patronus*. Promjena njegova statusa, naime, trebala bi se odražavati u

not the most common form to designate belonging to the imperial slave class (that was the simple genitive *Caesaris*), rather it was roughly the third most common (the second was formed using the emperor's praenomen). In a later period, the form *Caesaris Augusti* (*servus*), however, ceased appearing, so that its appearance can be reliably placed within the Julio-Claudian context. Amemptus in the Poljud inscription used the then already somewhat unfashionable form *Caesaris Augusti disp(ensator)*.

By an amazing coincidence, the corpus of Latin inscriptions contains yet another preserved inscription which mentions the same family, specifically the same dedicants as those in this one from Split (CIL X, 4734 = ILS, 3868, Fig. 2).<sup>36</sup> Since the dedicants in the second inscription were once more Amemptus, Orchivia Phoebe and Rhodinus, from the prosopographic standpoint it is a first-class monument for study. It was found in Italy, in the territory of the Roman-era municipium Sinuessa, in today's municipality of Mondragone at the boundary between Latium and Campania:

37 H. Dessau u komentaru uz ILS, 3868, dvoji o tome na koje se veličanstvo misli: *Incertum cuius maiestas; an ipsarum Nympharum?*

36 For more on this inscription: Pagano 1981, pp. 875-876, note 29 and fig. 3; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006a, pp. 161-162. A list of older publications was provided by Mommsen in the commentary accompanying CIL III, 4734. The inscription in the context of study of the cult of the Nymphs was discussed by Ballentine 1904, pp. 94-95. He cited the inscription in shortened and partially inaccurate form. The first to link it to the Split inscription and noted the relationship between them was Camodeca 2007, p. 145.

onomastici, jer je oslobođeni rob dobivao trojni imenski obrazac (*tria nomina*): nakon obavljenog akta manumisije nekadašnji rob je automatski nasljeđivao gospodarov *nomen* i *praenomen*, u čemu se zrcalio paternalistički odnos gospodar–rob; kao *cognomen* mogao je zadržati svoje staro robovsko, jedino ime, što je najčešće i bio slučaj.<sup>38</sup> Kod imenovanja carskih oslobođenika očekuje se korištenje carskoga *nomen gentilicium* kao novoga vlastitoga gentilicija građanina svježeg civiteta. Pošto carski gentilicij nije naveden, a natpis nije ni na kakav drugi način datiran, potrebno je osloniti se na oblik formule kojom su se koristili carski oslobođenici kako bi označili svoj novostečeni status. Premda su oblici te nomenklature u razdoblju vladavine prve trojice rimskih careva bili još u formativnom stadiju, istraživanja M. Banga i P. R. C. Weavera pokazala su da su varijacije u imenskom obrascu carskih oslobođenika julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije bile mnogo manje nego one kod carskih robova.<sup>39</sup> U sklopu te klasifikacije inačica *Caesaris libertus* upućuje na rano doba (na julijevsko-klaudijevsku dinastiju), a upravo je natpis CIL X, 4734 najkasniji poznati primjer njezina korištenja. Na mlađem natpisu se, dakle, prema Weaverovim istraživanjima formula *Caesaris lib.* javlja u jednom od posljednjih precizno datiranih slučajeva na natpisima carskih oslobođenika u rimskoj državi. Od Vespazijanova vremena nadalje formula *Caesaris l(ibertus)* (kao i različite druge) jenjava, a dominantnim postaje oblik *Augusti lib(ertus)*. Činjenica da ovdje nije naveden oslobođenikov (pa utoliko ni carev) gentilicij, nije neobična, jer su istraživanja nekolicine istraživača pokazala da čak i carski robovi veoma rijetko navode konkretno ime cara kojemu služe.<sup>40</sup> Stoga nedostatak carskog gentilicija ovdje nije iznimka. Osim toga, od vremena flavijevske dinastije među carskim

*Nymphis Sanct(is) novis repertis / in villam Surdinianam Amempti / Caes(aris) l(iberti) et Orchiviae Phoebe et Rhodini lib(erti) / eorum deduct(is) ad eam villam quae et ipsae / maiestati suae se edederunt / Imp(eratore) Caesare Vespasiano III M(arco) Cocceio Nerva co(n)s(ulibus)*

The inscription states that near the villa Surdiniana a new spring dedicated to the Nymphs was found – obviously physically connected to the renowned thermal springs of *Aquae Sinuessanae* that were in the town's immediate vicinity. The inscription's dedicants, it would appear, saw to the channelling (either by catchment from an aqueduct, diverting a run-off stream or in some other way) of one of the branches of a newly-discovered water supply to the villa, thereby making a part of the villa Surdiniana something of a sacral zone tied to the cult of the aquatic Nymphs. In commemorating this act, they dedicated the inscription to the sacred Nymphs, acquiescing to their majesty.<sup>37</sup> Based on the consulates of Vespasian and Marcus Cocceius Nerva, the monument can be dated with certainty to 71 AD.

This time, Amemptus' onomastic formula included the apposition *libertus*. Additionally, on the inscription from Sinuessa he is the first mentioned dedicant, while on the Split inscription this distinction belonged to his wife. Thus, at the time of dedication of inscription CIL X, 4734, Amemptus had already ceased being a slave and had acquired *status libertatis* – he was an imperial freedman (*Caesaris libertus*) and thereby equal in status to a Roman citizen in virtually every respect (except in his limited *ius honorum*). Both of these facts are reflected in the inscription's text.

However, not even this inscription provides any information on which Roman emperor was the *patronus* of Amemptus. His change of status should have been reflected in the onomastic evidence, because a freed slave received a *tria nomina* formula: after manumission was enacted, the former slave automatically inherited his master's *nomen* and *praenomen*, in which the paternalistic master-slave relationship was reflected; he could retain his old single, slave name as his *cognomen*, which was most often the case.<sup>38</sup> In the naming of imperial freedmen, use of the imperial *nomen gentilicium* as the new gentilicium of the freshly elevated citizen was expected. Since the imperial gentilicium was not specified, and the inscription is not dated in any other way, it is necessary to rely on the formula that was used by

38 Kajanto 1965, str. 19 i d.; Fabre 1981, str. 108-114.

39 Bang 1919; Weaver 1963, str. 273-276; Weaver 1972, str. 49. Boulvert 1974, str. 77, upozorava da, uz ovaj, postoji još jedan natpis iz flavijevskog doba s formulom *Caesaris libertus*: CIL VI, 8713.

40 Weaver 1964b, str. 134. Oko jedne trećine svih carskih oslobođenika na natpisima nije bilježilo *nomen*. Usp. također Ross Taylor 1961, str. 122. Weaver 1972, str. 38, spominje mogućnost da carski oslobođenici ispuštaju *nomen* u slučaju da je ime cara navedeno drugdje na natpisu, kako bi se izbjeglo nepotrebno ponavljanje. Moguće je, dakle, da je Amempta oslobodio Vespazijan te da je zato na natpisu donesena puna konzularna datacija (što inače nije bilo uobičajeno). Iz istog razloga nije naveden oslobođenikov pun imenski obrazac – on bi tada glasio *Titus Flavius Augusti libertus Amemptus*. Ovdje se ipak moramo ograditi, jer konačan odgovor na pitanje zasad nije moguće dati.

37 H. Dessau, in the commentary accompanying ILS, 3868 doubted as to the majesty to which it referred: *Incertum cuius maiestas; an ipsarum Nympharum?*

38 Kajanto 1965, p. 19 ff.; Fabre 1981, pp. 108-114.



oslobođenima ustalio se običaj ispuštanja oslobođenikova gentilicija, zato što je oznaka *Augusti libertus* od tada sve više postajala svojevrsnom titulom rezerviranom za posebnu društvenu skupinu, postupno izgubivši svoje prvotno građansko-pravno značenje.<sup>41</sup>

Godine 71. carski službenik Amempto se, dakle, nalazio u oslobođeničkom statusu; u nj je promaknut nešto prije, najkasnije oko 70. godine, ali vjerojatno i koju godinu ranije. Način na koji je regulirano Amemptovo zakonsko otpuštanje na slobodu (*manumissio vindicta*, *manumissio censu*, *manumissio testamento*) nije pobliže poznat, a nije ni od odlučujućeg značenja u kontekstu našeg istraživanja.<sup>42</sup> Princeps je svoje robove, pripadnike *familiae Caesaris*, oslobađao po vlastitom nahodaženju, najčešće postupkom *manumissio vindicta*, pod predsjedanjem magistrata, a posredstvom carskih opunomoćenika.<sup>43</sup> Još za vrijeme boravka na službi u Dalmaciji Amempto je bio carski rob, i u tom je stanju doživio smrt sina Gaja u dobi od osamnaest godina. Sve i ako pretpostavimo da je do Gajeve smrti došlo u najkasnije moguće doba, koncem 60-ih godina, da je Amempto oslobođen i da se preselio u Kampaniju neposredno nakon tog događaja, opet proizlazi da je Gaj Orhivije mogao biti rođen najkasnije oko 50. godine. Time ujedno postaje jasnim zašto se na sina i majku nisu mogle primijeniti odredbe Klaudijeva zakona, proglašenog 52. godine – rođen barem dvije godine prije, sin je mogao od majke nesmetano naslijediti rimsko građansko pravo, a majka isto pravo zadržati bez oštećenja, temeljem tada važećeg *ius gentium*.

Što se tiče datacije splitskog natpisa, do nje je moguće doći jedino posredno. Iste osobe koje se spominju u njemu, kako smo vidjeli, dale su 71. godine načiniti natpis CIL X, 7434. Na tom natpisu spominju se Orhivija Feba i Amempto kao još živući bračni par. Weaver splitski natpis, s nešto opreza, pripisuje flavijevskom razdoblju,<sup>44</sup> što ostavlja vrlo uzak vremenski raspon za njegov nastanak: između Vespazijanova uspona na prijestolje u srpnju 69. godine i nastupa njegovoga

imperial freedmen to denote their newly-acquired status. Although the forms and nomenclature during the reign of the first three Roman emperors were still in their formative stages, research conducted by M. Bang and P. R. C. Weaver has shown that there were far fewer variations in the naming formula of imperial freedmen of the Julio-Claudian dynasty than those for imperial slaves.<sup>39</sup> As a part of this classification, the variant *Caesaris libertus* indicates the early period (at the time of the Julio-Claudian dynasty), and inscription CIL X, 4734 is in fact the latest example of its use. Thus, the formula *Caesaris lib.* appears on the younger inscription, according to Weaver's research, in one of the last precisely dated cases on inscriptions of imperial freedmen in the Roman state. From the time of Vespasian onward, the formula *Caesaris l(ibertus)* (and various others) declined, while *Augusti lib(ertus)* became the dominant form. The fact that the freedman's gentilicium (and the emperor's for that matter) was not specified here is not unusual, because research conducted by several researchers has shown that even imperial slaves very rarely noted the name of the emperor they served.<sup>40</sup> So the absence of an imperial gentilicium here is no exception. Additionally, since the time of the Flavian dynasty, the established custom became the omission of the freedman's gentilicium, because the designation *Augusti libertus* became, from that point forward, something of a title reserved for a special social group, gradually losing its initial legal meaning.<sup>41</sup>

39 Bang 1919; Weaver 1963, pp. 273-276; Weaver 1972, p. 49. Boulvert 1974, p. 77 pointed out that, besides this one, there was yet another inscription from the Flavian era containing the formula *Caesaris libertus*: CIL VI, 8713.

40 Weaver 1964b, p. 134. Approximately one third of all imperial freedmen did not note the *nomen* in their inscriptions. Cf. also Ross Taylor 1961, p. 122. Weaver 1972, p. 38 mentioned the possibility that imperial freedmen left out the *nomen* in case the emperor's name was mentioned elsewhere in the inscription, in order to avoid needless repetition. It is therefore possible that Amemptus was freed by Vespasian and that is why the inscription contains the full consular dates (which was otherwise not customary). The freedman's full name formula was not specified for the same reason – it would then have been Titus Flavius Augusti libertus Amemptus. This should be taken with some reserve, because at this point it is impossible to definitively answer this question.

41 Ross Taylor 1961, p. 122 and note 25; Weaver 1972, p. 43. The phenomenon spread since the reign of Claudius. Cases have also been noted in which this designation was placed after the cognomen, instead of the gentilicium, in the name formula.

41 Ross Taylor 1961, str. 122 i bilj. 25; Weaver 1972, str. 43. Pojava se širi od vremena Klaudijeve vladavine. Bilježe se i slučajevi kada je navedena oznaka u imenskom obrascu stavljana iza kognomena, umjesto iza gentilicija.

42 O različitim tipovima oslobađanja v. Boulvert 1974, str. 95-98; Fabre 1981, str. 10-35; Dumont 1987, str. 426-427; Starac 1991, str. 92; Mihăilescu-Bîrliu 2006a, str. 16-19; Mouritsen 2011, str. 10-35, 120-205 i Penner 2013, str. 37-47.

43 Boulvert 1970, str. 556; Fabre 1981, str. 16-23; Starac 1991, str. 100.

44 Weaver 1964b, str. 135, bilj. 10.



trećeg konzulata 1. siječnja 71. godine. Vjerojatnije je stoga da će Weaverovu dataciju trebati korigirati te poljudski natpis kronološki smjestiti nešto ranije, u razdoblje Neronove vladavine.<sup>45</sup> S obzirom na nedostatak Amemptova gentilicija na splitskom natpisu, za njegovo datiranje kao jedini nedvojbeni pokazatelj može poslužiti konzularna datacija s natpisa iz Sinuesse (kao nesporni *terminus ante quem*); uz to, na raspolaganju stoji i nekolicina drugih, manje pouzdanih datacijskih kriterija: npr. oznaka oslobođeničkog statusa *Caesaris l.* na mlađem natpisu, odnosno oznake robovskog statusa *Caesaris Aug.* i *Caesaris* sa splitskog natpisa. Prije nego što je zadobio osobnu slobodu (a to se zbilo svakako nešto prije 71.), Amempto je imao sina, koji je umro kao dekurion u 18. godini života. Amemptovoj manumisiji, dakle, prethodila su gotovo dva desetljeća djetinjstva, rane mladosti i društvene afirmacije njegova sina Gaja Orhivija Amempta, a ovome je prethodilo Amemptovo sklapanje braka s Orhivijom Febom. Najkasnije moguće vrijeme zasniivanja te bračne zajednice jest, prema tome, razdoblje Klaudijeve vladavine (41.-54.). U trenutku sinovljeve smrti Amempto je obavljao funkciju dispenzatora, što bi prema Weaverovim zaključcima značilo da nije bio oslobođen sve do približno četrdesete ili četrdesetpete godine života.<sup>46</sup> Splitski natpis mogao bi se, temeljem svega što je izloženo, datirati u kasno doba Neronove vladavine.

Kako je pokazao Weaver, položaj dispenzatora u carskome kućanstvu postizao se redovito između tridesete i četrdesete godine života, uz veoma malo ili nimalo iznimaka.<sup>47</sup> Koliko je dugo Amempto mogao ostati u tome statusu prije nego što je oslobođen? Premda je prema *lex Aelia Sentia* iz 4. godine donja granica dobi dopuštene za manumisiju iznosila trideset godina,<sup>48</sup> u praksi se ta zakonska norma često kršila, naročito u slučaju carskih robova, jer je princepsu zbog njegova izvanrednog državnopravnog položaja bilo razmjerno jednostavno na različite načine zaobići

In 71 AD, the imperial official Amemptus had the status of freedman; he was promoted to it somewhat earlier, at around the year 70 at the latest, but probably a few years earlier. The manner in which Amemptus regulated his legal release to freedom (*manumissio vindicta*, *manumissio censu*, *manumissio testamento*) is not precisely known, and is not even of decisive importance in the context of this research.<sup>42</sup> The *princeps* freed his slaves, members of the *familia Caesaris*, at his own discretion, most often through the *manumissio vindicta* procedure presided over by a magistrate, and with the mediation of imperial proxies.<sup>43</sup> While still in service in Dalmatia, Amemptus was an imperial slave, and it was as such that he endured the death of his Gaius at the age of 18. Even if we assume that the death of Gaius occurred at the latest possible time, at the end of the 60s AD, and that Amemptus was freed and had moved to Campania immediately thereafter, it once more follows that Gaius Orchivius could have been born in the year 50 at the latest. This simultaneously makes it clear that the provisions of the Claudian law, proclaimed in 52 AD, could not have been applied to the son and mother – born at least two years prior, the son could have inherited Roman citizenship from his mother unimpeded, while the mother retain it without infringement based on the then valid *ius gentium*.

As to the dating of the Split inscription, it can be ascertained only indirectly. The same persons mentioned in it, as was demonstrated, commissioned inscription CIL X, 7434 in 71 AD. In this inscription, Orchivia Phoebe and Amemptus are mentioned as a still living married couple. Weaver ascribed the Split inscription, with some caution, to the Flavian era,<sup>44</sup> which leaves a narrow chronological window for its appearance: between Vespasian's ascent to the throne in July 69 and the commencement of his third consulate on 1 January 71. It is therefore more likely that Weaver's dating should be corrected, and chronologically place the Poljud inscription somewhat earlier, to the period of Nero's reign.<sup>45</sup> Given the absence of a gentilicium for Amemptus in the Split inscription,

45 Weaver 1963, str. 274, te Weaver 1972, str. 49, smatra da je Amempto bio oslobođenik Klaudija ili Neronu, kao i Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006a, str. 161. Boulvert 1970, str. 273, pogrešno datira natpis u 2. st.

46 Weaver 1972, str. 131, 206.

47 Weaver 1967, str. 12; Weaver 1968, str. 111. Carlsen 1992, str. 98, je na temelju svih dvadesetak dispenzatorskih natpisa iz sjeverne Afrike pokušao relativizirati ovaj zaključak, da bi se na kraju i sam složio kako ti isti natpisi "in fact support the tenability of Weaver's observations".

48 Weaver 1972, str. 97; Starac 1991, str. 92-93; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2008, str. 493-494. Gospodar koji oslobađa roba je prema istome zakonu morao imati najmanje dvadeset godina.

42 On the different types of manumission, see Boulvert 1974, pp. 95-98; Fabre 1981, pp. 10-35; Dumont 1987, pp. 426-427; Starac 1991, p. 92; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006a, pp. 16-19; Mouritsen 2011, pp. 10-35, 120-205 and Penner 2013, pp. 37-47.

43 Boulvert 1970, p. 556; Fabre 1981, pp. 16-23; Starac 1991, p. 100.

44 Weaver 1964b, p. 135, note 10.

45 Weaver 1963, p. 274, and Weaver 1972, p. 49 thought that Amemptus was a freedman of Claudius or Nero, as did Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006a, p. 161. Boulvert 1970, p. 273 mistakenly dated the inscription to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

zakonodavne akte. Prema Weaverovoj evidenciji tijekom 1. i 2. stoljeća čak je 24 % svih oslobođenih carskih robova manumisiju doživjelo prije tridesete godine.<sup>49</sup> No, gore već spominjano odgađanje manumisije u slučaju dispenzatora ovoj je kategoriji službenika praktično na dug rok onemogućavalo da izjednače svoj status s onim svoje supruge.<sup>50</sup> Moguće je, dakle, ustvrditi da je Amempto – ukoliko nije iznimno promaknut prije vremena – službu dispenzatora obnašao između svoje tridesetpete i četrdesetpete godine života, nakon čega je oslobođen, izišao iz operativne carske službe te postao rimskim građaninom.<sup>51</sup>

Neobično je što se Rodin u splitskom natpisu spominje isključivo kao Amemptov rob (*Rhodinus Amempti Caesaris [ser.]*), dok u natpisu iz Sinuese izričito stoji da je on oslobođenik Amempta i Orhivije Febe (*Rhodinus lib[ertus] eorum*). Iz ovoga bi se moglo zaključiti da je bračni par nakon suprugova novostečenog oslobođenja zajednički izvršio manumisiju nad neslobodnim članom svoga kućanstva, naglasivši to i u natpisu.<sup>52</sup>

Na splitskom poluotoku čitava je obiteljska zajednica namijenila sebi posljednje počivalište: ono je predviđeno za bračni par Amempta i Orhiviju, zatim za njihovog sina Gaja, za Rodina, konačno za sve ostale njihove oslobođenike i oslobođenice te njihove potomke. Ako je grobnica bila namijenjena da s vremenom primi ukup *sviju* njih (sina, roditelja, oslobođenika i dr.), pomalja se pitanje kada su i zašto Orhivijeve roditelji završili u srednjoj Italiji, odnosno znači li njihov boravak u Sinuesi da na kraju ipak nisu bili sahranjeni na splitskom Poljudu? Kako će se vidjeti, čini se da njihov odlazak u Italiju treba objašnjavati drugačije nego dosad.

Većina autora koja se bavila natpisom iz Sinuese pretpostavljala je da su Amempto i Orhivija Feba, nakon svršetka muževljeve karijere u carevoj službi, priskrbili, odnosno kupnjom stekli imanje *villa Surdiniana*. Ta je pretpostavka proizašla iz niza triju imena

the consular dating from the Sinuessa inscription (as the undisputed *terminus ante quem*) is the only unambiguous indicator for its dating; besides this, there are a few other, less reliable dating criteria available: for example, the designation of freedman status, *Caesaris l.* on the younger inscription, and the designations of slave status, *Caesaris Aug.* and *Caesaris* on the Split inscription. Before he attained personal freedom (and this certainly happened prior to 71 AD), Amemptus had a son, who died as a decurion at the age of 18. The manumission of Amemptus was therefore preceded by the almost twenty years of the childhood, early youth and social affirmation of his son Gaius Orchivius Amemptus, and also by his marriage to Orchivia Phoebe. The latest possible time for the establishment of this marital union was, therefore, during the reign of Claudius (41-54). At the time of his son's death, Amemptus held the post of *dispensator*, which according to Weaver's conclusions meant that he was not freed until he reached the age of forty or forty-five.<sup>46</sup> The Split inscription could, based on all of these aspects, be dated to the later years of Nero's rule.

As Weaver has shown, the post of *dispensator* in the imperial household was regularly achieved between the ages of thirty and forty, with very few or no exceptions.<sup>47</sup> How long could Amemptus have remained in this status before being freed? Although according to the *lex Aelia Sentia* from 4 AD the upper age limit permitted for manumission was thirty,<sup>48</sup> in practice this legal norm was frequently violated, particularly in the case of imperial slaves, because the *princeps*, due to his extraordinary legal position in the state, could rather easily find ways to bypass laws. According to Weaver's data, during the first and second centuries, as many as 24% of all freed imperial slaves experienced manumission prior to the age of thirty.<sup>49</sup> However, the aforementioned postponement of manumission in the case of *dispensatores* meant that this category of official was effectively barred from obtaining status equal to that of a spouse over

49 Weaver 1972, str. 100; Mihăilescu-Bîrliu 2008, str. 498.

50 Weaver 1972, str. 115-116, 204-205; Boulvert 1974, str. 300-328; Carlsen 1992, str. 99.

51 Weaver 1968, str. 121-123. O "umirovljenim" carskim oslobođenikima i isluženim dispenzatorima usp. Chantraine 1973, osobito str. 308-310 (upućuje izričito na situaciju Amempta, Orhivije i Rodina). Usp. također Wolf 1965, str. 31.

52 Moguće je da je bračni par, upravo zbog smrti njihova sina, oslobodio i na neki način prihvatio Rodina kao svoga "zamjenskog sina". Ta se mogućnost čini prihvatljivom, ali je zasad nedokaziva. Zahvalan sam anonimnom recenzentu ovoga rada na upozorenju na tu mogućnost.

46 Weaver 1972, pp. 131, 206.

47 Weaver 1967, p. 12; Weaver 1968, p. 111. Carlsen 1992, p. 98 attempted to contest this conclusion based on all of the approximately twenty *dispensator* inscriptions from northern Africa, only to ultimately concede that these same inscriptions "in fact support the tenability of Weaver's observations".

48 Weaver 1972, p. 97; Starac 1991, pp. 92-93; Mihăilescu-Bîrliu 2008, pp. 493-494. The master who freed a slave under this same law had to be at least twenty years of age.

49 Weaver 1972, p. 100; Mihăilescu-Bîrliu 2008, p. 498.

u genitivu uz *villam Surdinianam – Amempti Caesaris liberti et Orciviae Phoebe et Rhodini liberti eorum* – što je protumačeno kao oznaka vlasništva nad vilom, tj. kao jednostavni posvojni genitiv kojim se nižu imena vlasnikâ vile. No ako je to točno, nužno se nameće zaključak da su zajednički vlasnici vile bili svih troje spomenutih – Amempto, Orhivija Feba i njihov oslobođenik Rodin – jer su navedeni kao ravnopravni članovi u nabranju. Mogućnost, pak, da je vila podjednako pripadala svim trima subjektima (od kojih je jedan netom oslobođen) sama po sebi nije veoma vjerojatna. Potrebno je, stoga, pokušati tekst objasniti na drugi način. Sasvim prihvatljivo rješenje ponudio je još J. C. Orelli,<sup>53</sup> dopunivši tekst iza *Rhodini liberti eorum* ablativom *cura*. Prema tome, skup *in villam Surdinianam Amempti Caesaris liberti et Orciviae Phoebe et Rhodini liberti eorum* ne znači da vila pripada navedenim licima, već da su se oni samo zajednički pobrinuli oko dovođenja svetog vrela Nimfi u vilu, te taj svoj čin komemorirali natpisom. Sama *villa Surdiniana* u literaturi se smatra carskim posjedom, a s obzirom na eponimno ime vlasnika, pripada carskim imanjima koja su u princepsovo vlasništvo ušla konfiskacijom, nasljedstvom ili darovanjem.<sup>54</sup> Komplekse carskih dobara oko današnjeg Mondragonea potvrđuje i drugi tamošnji natpis iz vremena Flavijevaca:

*Porphyry / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) proc(urator) / reg(ionum) Fal(ernae) et Stat(anae) / [Aug(usti?)] n(ostris?) Geni[o] votum / solvit* (AE 1984, 186 = AE 2007, 267).

U blizini Sinuese svoja je velika imanja – ispremišana s krunskim posjedima, koja su kasnije dospjela u carsko vlasništvo – imala Matidija Mlađa (o. 85.-162.), pranećakinja cara Trajana i polusestra

an extended period.<sup>50</sup> It is therefore plausible that Amemptus – insofar as he was not exceptionally promoted before time – performed the duties of *dispensator* between the ages of 30 and 40, after which he was freed, and departed from the operative imperial service and became a Roman citizen.<sup>51</sup>

It is unusual that in the Split inscription Rhodinus is mentioned exclusively as the slave of Amemptus (*Rhodinus Amempti Caesaris [ser.]*), while in the inscription from Sinuessa it explicitly states that he is a freedman of Amemptus and Orchivia Phoebe (*Rhodinus lib[ertus] eorum*). From this, it may be concluded that after the husband's newly-acquired freedom, both spouses jointly granted manumission to the enslaved member of their household, and then emphasized this fact in the inscription.<sup>52</sup>

The entire extended family arranged for their final resting place on the Split peninsula: it was planned for the spouses Amemptus and Orchivia, then for their son Gaius, for Rhodinus, and finally for all of their other freedmen and –women and their children. Insofar as the tomb was intended to serve for the interment of *all* of them (the son, parents, freedmen, etc.) over time, the question arises as to when and why did the parents of Orchivius end up in central Italy, i.e., does their stay in Sinuessa mean that they were not ultimately buried in Split's Poljud? As will be shown, it would appear that their departure for Italy should be explained differently than has been the case thus far.

Most scholars who dealt with the inscription from Sinuessa assumed that Amemptus and Orchivia Phoebe, after the conclusion of her husband's career in the imperial service, procured (purchased) the *villa Surdiniana* estate. This hypothesis emerged from the series of three names in the genitive accompanying the term *villam Surdinianam – Amempti Caesaris liberti et Orchiviae Phoebe et Rhodini liberti eorum* – which has been interpreted as an indication of ownership over the villa, i.e., as a simple possessive genitive listing the names of the villa's owners. But if this is accurate, then the necessary conclusion is that all three of those mentioned – Amemptus,

53 Orellius 1828, str. 312, br. 1634. Stoga ne stoji mišljenje koje su iznijeli Boulvert 1974, str. 205, Mihăilescu-Bîrliu 2006a, str. 161 i Camodeca 2007, str. 145, da je *villa Surdiniana* morala pripadati Amemptu i njegovoj obitelji.

54 Frederiksen, Purcell 1984, str. 50, bilj. 49. Schulze 1904, str. 240 i bilj. 1, povezuje vilu s Lucijem Nevijem Surdinom (CIL VI, 1468=31662) koji je 30. godine bio *consul suffectus*. Mihăilescu-Bîrliu 2006a, str. 161 pogrešno vilu naziva *villa Sardiniana*. Camodeca 2007, str. 145, pomišlja da je vila konfiskacijom za vrijeme građanskog rata mogla postati dio carskog vlasništva. Upozorava također na Vespazijanove zahvate na području između Sinuese i *Forum Popilii*, gdje je bila osnovana jedna pobježe nepoznata *colonia Flavia* (spominje ju natpis CIL X, 4735 iz vremena Septimija Severa).

50 Weaver 1972, pp. 115-116, 204-205; Boulvert 1974, pp. 300-328; Carlsen 1992, p. 99.

51 Weaver 1968, pp. 121-123. On the "retirement" of imperial freedmen and former *dispensatores*, cf. Chantraine 1973, particularly pp. 308-310 (explicitly pointing to the situation of Amemptus, Orchivia and Rhodinus). Cf. also Wolf 1965, p. 31.

52 It is possible that the married couple, precisely due to the death of their son, freed and in some manner accepted Rhodinus as their "replacement son". This seems plausible, but cannot be proved for the time being. I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer of this paper for pointing out this possibility.



Hadrijanove supruge Vibije Sabine, adoptivna pratetka cara Marka Aurelija.<sup>55</sup>

S obzirom na sve izneseno, čini se da je nakon smrti njihova sina Gaja odluka Amempta i Orhivije da se skrase nadomak Saloni bila poremećena nekim nesvakidašnjim zbivanjem, jer je u suprotnom teško objasniti njihovu naprasnu pojavu na carskom dobru u središnjoj Italiji. Tu naglu promjenu moguće je objasniti izmjenom carskih dinastija 69. godine, kada su Flavijevci od prethodnih vladara automatski naslijedili sav korpus fiskalne imovine – rezidencije, zemljoposjede, robove, oslobođenike i dr. U tom kontekstu moglo je doći do različitih planskih preseljavanja robova i oslobođenika *familiae Caesaris* s jednog carskog posjeda na drugi, pri čemu su pripadnici i servilnog i libertinskog staleža, bez razlike, podliježali željama i naložima svoga patrona. Jedno, naime, od ograničenja kojima su oslobođenici bili podvrgnuti nakon manumisije bila je i sloboda kretanja: općenito se smatralo primjerenim da oslobođeni rob zadrži fizičku i duhovnu vezu s gospodarom (kao njegov doživotni *cliens*), što se u svakodnevnoj praksi realiziralo trajnim prebivanjem oslobođenika u blizini mjesta manumisije, odnosno u okruženju gospodara i njegova boravišta.<sup>56</sup>

## V. Prostorni kontekst i funkcija spomenika

U pretposljednem retku splitskog natpisa javlja se uobičajen izričaj koji, pokraćen, donosi dimenzije grobnog areala što ga je obitelj priskrbila za ukop: 52 rimske stope dužine i 45 rimskih stopa širine. U Orhivijevu slučaju pročelna dužina grobne čestice, ona sučelice cesti (*in fronte*) iznosila je 15,39 m, a dubina (*in agro*) 13,32 m. Površina grobnog prostora što ga je Orhivija Feba priredila sebi, sinu, supruhu i oslobođenima obuhvaćala je, prema tome, ukupno oko 205 m<sup>2</sup> (0,02 ha). To je, sudeći po dimenzijama, jedna od većih grobnih parcela poznatih u salonitanskom ageru.<sup>57</sup> Završnom formulom vlasnica je odredila tko se sve nakon njezine smrti smije služiti grobnicom, odredivši da se ona ne nasljeđuje. Učinila je to nešto širom inačicom uobičajene kratice H. M. H. N. S.: *Hoc monument(um) sive sepulchrum est extranum heredem non sequetur* – “Ovaj spomenik ili grobnica vanjskim nasljednicima ne pripada”.

Prostor namijenjen spomeniku izričito je uključivao tabernu. Termin *taberna* s natpisa znači da je

Orchivia Phoebe and their freedman Rhodinus – were the villa’s common owners, because they are specified as equal members in the list. However, the possibility that the villa equally belonged to all three individuals (of whom one had just been granted freedom) is not likely in and of itself. It would therefore be worthwhile to attempt to explain the text differently. An entirely plausible solution was proposed long ago by J. C. Orelli,<sup>53</sup> filling in the text after *Rhodini liberti eorum* with the ablative *cura*. Thus, the phrase *in villam Surdinianam Amempti Caesaris liberti et Orchiviae Phoebes et Rhodini liberti eorum* does not mean that the villa belongs to these people, but rather that they only jointly arranged to bring the sacred spring of the Nymphs to the villa, and then commemorated this act with an inscription. The actual *villa Surdiniana* is considered an imperial estate in the literature, and given the eponymous name of the owner, it belonged among the imperial estates which became the property of the *princeps* by means of confiscation, inheritance or donation.<sup>54</sup> The complexes of imperial properties around today’s Mondragone have been confirmed by another local inscription from the Flavian era:

*Porphyry / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) proc(urator) / reg(ionum) Fal(ernae) et Stat(anae) / [Aug(usti?) / n(ostri?) Geni[o] votum / solvit* (AE 1984, 186 = AE 2007, 267).

Matidia Minor (ca. 85-162), the grand-niece of Emperor Trajan and half-sister of Hadrian’s wife Vibia Sabina, the adoptive great-aunt of Emperor Marcus Aurelius,<sup>55</sup> had her large estate near Sinuess, intermingled with crown possessions, which later became imperial property.

With regard to all of the aforementioned, it would appear that after the death of their son Gaius, the decision by Amemptus and Orchivia to settle down

55 O tome svjedoči natpis CIL X, 3833 iz Sinuese. Usp. također Camodeca 2007, str. 153-155.

56 Boulvert 1974, str. 107-109; Fabre 1981, str. 131-141; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006a, str. 20-21.

57 Cambi 1985-1986, str. 70 i bilj. 52.

53 Orellius 1828, p. 312, no. 1634. This renders untenable the view put forth by Boulvert 1974, p. 205, Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006a, p. 161 and Camodeca 2007, p. 145 that the *villa Surdiniana* had to have belonged to Amemptus and his family.

54 Frederiksen, Purcell 1984, p. 50, note 49. Schulze 1904, p. 240 and note 1, linked the villa to Lucius Naevius Surdinus (CIL VI, 1468=31662) who in 30 AD was *consul suffectus*. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006a, p. 161 mistakenly called it the *villa Sardiniana*. Camodeca 2007, p. 145 thought that the villa may have become an imperial property by confiscation during the civil war. He also pointed out Vespasian’s undertakings in the area between Sinuessa and *Forum Popilii*, where the rather unknown *colonia Flavia* was established (it is mentioned in inscription CIL X, 4735 from the time of Septimius Severus).

55 Inscription CIL X, 3833 from Sinuessa testifies to this. Cf. also Camodeca 2007, pp. 153-155.

grobni areal – uz uobičajeni *hortus* sa spomenicima i natpisima – sadržavao i obrednu prostoriju za posmrtnu gozbu u spomen na pokojnika (za sada jedinu takvu poznatu u sepulkralnoj epigrafiji rimske Dalmacije). Mišljenje je N. Cambija da Orhivijev natpis ukazuje na “veću arhitekturu sepulkralnog karaktera” u blizini poljudskog samostana, odnosno da predstavlja “daljnju potvrdu velikih i bogato uređenih grobnih parcela u kojima je bilo i arhitekture (natpis je bez sumnje morao biti ugrađen u neki zid)”.<sup>58</sup>

Na mjestu današnjega franjevačkog samostana utvrđeni su ostaci gospodarske zgrade iz razdoblja ranog Carstva. Južni zid te građevine nalazio se točno na liniji centurijacije, odnosno precizno je pratio završetak dekumana H, koji je prolazio približno potezom Ulice VIII. mediteranskih igara, između suvremenih zgrada Gradskog stadiona i kompleksa baze na *Jadran*, uvičući u uvalu današnje Sportske lučice Poljud.<sup>59</sup> Imanje je, dakle, bilo pravilno orijentirano unutar agerske limitacije te se nalazilo na samom jugozapadnom uglu centurije, uz rub dekumana. Čitav samostanski sklop (crkva, samostanske zgrade i ovisno zemljište), uokviren ogradnim zidom, i danas je orijentiran u skladu s prvotnom centurijacijom poluotoka.

## VI. Lociranje carskog posjeda

Zemljišni posjedi u vlasništvu princepsa mogli su se eksploatirati izravno, uživanjem agrarnih proizvoda u carskom kućanstvu, i neizravno, novčanim prihodom od najma. Za cjelinu carskih zemljišta unutar određenog prostora (npr. unutar dotične provincije) nadležan je bio vrhovni činovnik s nazivom *procurator*. Njemu su hijerarhijski bili podređeni *villici* i *conductores*, nadglednici i upravitelji pojedinačnih imanja, koji su pod određenim uvjetima mogli i sami biti najmoprincipci tih istih imanja. Sa statusne točke gledišta, moglo se raditi o rimskim građanima, oslobođenimcima ili robovima.<sup>60</sup>

Prešavši iz nadležstva Senata u nadzor cara 11. godine pr. Kr., čitav se Ilirik – a u njegovu sklopu i

opposite of Salona was hampered by some unusual event, for otherwise it is difficult to explain their sudden appearance on an imperial estate in central Italy. This drastic change can be explained by the change in imperial dynasties in 69 AD, when the Flavians automatically inherited from preceding rulers the entire body of fiscal property: residences, landed estates, slaves, freedmen, etc. In this context, various planned moves of slaves and freedmen of *familia Caesaris* from one imperial estate to another may have occurred, wherein members of both the servile and libertine classes, without exception, were subjected to the desires and orders of their master. For one of the restrictions to which freedmen were subject after manumission was freedom of movement: generally it was deemed appropriate for freed slaves to retain physical and spiritual ties with their masters (as their life-long *cliens*), which in everyday practice meant the permanent residence of freedmen in the vicinity of their place of manumission, or in the vicinity of their masters and their residences.<sup>56</sup>

## V. Spatial context and function of the monument

In the Split inscription's penultimate line, a customary phrase appears which, in abbreviated form, details the dimensions of the grave plot that the family procured for the interment: 52 Roman feet long and 45 feet wide. In the case of Orchivius, the frontal length of the grave plot, that facing the road (*in fronte*) was 15.39 m, while the depth (*in agro*) was 13.32 m. The surface area of the grave plot that Orchivia Phoebe arranged for herself, her son, spouse and freedmen therefore encompassed a total of roughly 205 m<sup>2</sup> (0.02 ha). This is, judging by the dimensions, one of the largest grave plots known in the Salona ager.<sup>57</sup> In the closing formula, the owner specified who could use her grave plot after her death, noting that it cannot be inherited. She did so with a somewhat broader variation of the customary abbreviation H. M. H. N. S.: *Hoc monumentum sive sepulchrum est extranum heredem non sequetur* – “This tomb or grave shall not pass to external heirs”.

The space intended for the monument explicitly included a *taberna*. The term *taberna* from the inscription means that the sepulchral area – besides the standard *hortus* with monuments and inscriptions – also contained a cult object for funerary feasts to commemorate the deceased (thus far the only one known in the sepulchral epigraphy of Roman Dalmatia). N. Cambi assumed that the inscription of Orchivius

58 Cambi 1985-1986, str. 103-104. Tabernu s poljudskog natpisa u ovom kontekstu spominje i Gassner 1985, str. 165.

59 Marasović, Oreb 1976-1977, karte 1 i 2; Tomić 1997, str. 3. Prema Matetić 2002, str. 270, i Škunca 2002, str. 191, dio zida te zgrade, koji je pratio centurijaciju, vidljiv je na zapadnom i južnom dijelu današnjega ogradnog zida samostana. I Cambi 1985-1986, str. 103, bilj. 166, smatra da bi dvorišni zid samostana mogao biti antički ili kasnoantički.

60 Starac 1994, str. 140; Matijašić 1998, str. 16.

56 Boulvert 1974, pp. 107-109; Fabre 1981, pp. 131-141; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2006a, pp. 20-21.

57 Cambi 1985-1986, p. 70 and note 52.

Dalmacija – našao pod djelokrugom fiska i njegovih službenika. Fiskalne prokuratele ustrojene su na razini Dalmacije kao carske provincije kada je ona potom u prvoj polovini 1. stoljeća izdvojena iz cjeline Ilirika. Na vrhu administrativne piramide fiska provincije nalazio se posebni financijski upravitelj, *procurator Augusti provinciae Dalmatiae* (do Trajanova doba zadužen i za provinciju Panoniju: *procurator provinciarum Pannoniae et Dalmatiae*). Njegova je glavna funkcija bio nadzor nad prikupljanjem svih prihoda fiska u Dalmaciji: izravnog poreza (*tributum*) i mnogobrojnih neizravnih poreza (*vectigalia*). Sjedište mu se nalazilo u Saloni, a pod njegovim je financijskim nadzorom bilo cijelo ozemlje provincije, uz iznimku vojnih teritorija (*prata legionis, territorium castrorum*) koji su tek naknadno dospjeli u vlasništvo fiska. Prokuratorove ingerencije od početka su uključivale i *ager publicus*, kao i u ostalim carskim provincijama.

Ured prokuratora fiska u Saloni upošljavao je čitavu lepezu administrativnih službenika različitoga hijerarhijskog ranga, zaduženih za prikupljanje i obračun svih vrsta poreza i prihoda, kao i za davanje poreza u zakup posrednicima (*publicani, conductores*). Većina tih službenika pripadala je ropskom ili oslobođeničkom staležu, ali točna struktura salonitanskog ureda nije dovoljno dobro poznata. Teško je dokučiti, s obzirom na nepotpunost epigrafske građe, i kojim su poreznim odjelima pripadali dosad poznati članovi provincijskog carskog fiska (*portorium, cursus publicus, vicesima hereditatium, vicesima libertatis, ludi, alimenta* itd.).<sup>61</sup> Realnom se čini pretpostavka da ubiranje *vectigalia* s carskih zemljišnih posjeda u Dalmaciji nije predstavljalo značajniji prihod – već i zato što ih, za razliku od Histrije, nije bilo mnogo – pa utoliko valja pretpostaviti i skroman broj osoblja koje bi se u Saloni brinulo za taj porezni odjel. Neovisno o tome, čini se vjerojatnim da su unutar dalmatinskog pokrajinskog fiska, u prokuratorovu uredu, radili i službenici zaduženi za te, manje značajne vektigalne poreze,<sup>62</sup> a među njima i dispensatori.

*Dispensatores* su se mogli nalaziti u službi privatnih osoba, cara, članova carske obitelji, različitih grana državne uprave, u službi municipija, itd. Dispensatore se u provincijama zatječe u velikom broju, i to upravo u službi carskog patrimonija, pri

indicates “sizeable architecture of a sepulchral character” near the Poljud monastery, and that it constitutes “further confirmation of large and richly-appointed grave plots which also included architecture (the inscription had to have been without doubt built into a wall)”.<sup>58</sup>

The remains of an agriculture building from the early imperial period have been confirmed at the site of today’s Franciscan monastery. The southern wall of this building was right on the line of centuriation, meaning that it precisely followed on the end of decuman H, which passed close to VIII. mediteranskih igara street between the contemporary City Stadium and the Jadran pool complex, coming out at the present-day Poljud Sports Marina.<sup>59</sup> The estate was therefore regularly oriented inside the ager limits and was at the very south-west corner of the centuria, along the edge of the decuman. The entire monastic complex (church, monastery building and attached land), bounded by a fencing wall, is even today oriented in compliance with the peninsula’s initial centuriation.

## VI. Locating the imperial estate

The landed estates owned by the *princeps* could be exploited directly – by enjoying the agricultural products in the imperial household – or indirectly – via income from leases. A top official called the *procurator* was responsible for all imperial lands within a certain territory (e.g., within a given province). Directly subordinate to him within the hierarchy were the *villici* and *conductores*, the overseers and administrators of individual estates, who under certain circumstances could themselves be lessees of these same estates. From the standpoint of status, these could be Roman citizens, freedmen or slaves.<sup>60</sup>

Having passed from the jurisdiction of the Senate to the emperor’s authority in 11 BC, all of Illyricum – and Dalmatia within it – was placed under the purview of the *fiscus* and its officials. Fiscal procuratorships were organized at the level of Dalmatia as an imperial province when it was separated from Illyricum in the mid-first century. A special financial administrator

61 Starac 2000, str. 53-55 (na str. 52 spominje da iz Salone potječe “dvadeset i osam do sada poznatih natpisa carskih robova i oslobođenika”).

62 Štoviše, Bloch 1892, str. 283, čak smatra da su svi provincijski *dispensatores Augusti* čija služba nije pobliže specificirana, pripadali uredu provincijskog fiska, na čijem se čelu nalazio *procurator*. Potanje: Liebenam 1905a, str. 1194, i Vulić 1922, str. 1922.

58 Cambi 1985-1986, pp. 103-104. The *taberna* on the Poljud inscription was also mentioned in this context by Gassner 1985, p. 165.

59 Marasović, Oreb 1976-1977, maps 1 and 2; Tomić 1997, p. 3. According to Matetić 2002, p. 270 and Škunca 2002, p. 191 a part of the wall of this building, which followed the centuriation, is visible on the western and southern parts of today’s fencing wall of the monastery. Cambi 1985-1986, pp. 103, note 166 also thinks that the monastery’s courtyard wall may date to Antiquity or Late Antiquity.

60 Starac 1994, p. 140; Matijašić 1998, p. 16.



provincijskim uredima.<sup>63</sup> Unutar državne administracije zauzimali su sljedeće moguće položaje, uvijek u financijskoj službi: carskih vila i vrtova u Rimu i Italiji (*dispensator hortorum*); *dispensator a iumentis*; pribavljanja plemenitih metala za kovanje novca (*dispensator rationis monetarum*); blagajne javnih radova (*dispensator operum publicorum*); javnih igara i priredaba (*dispensator ludi magni*); financijske službe mornarice (*dispensator classis Flaviae*); lučke uprave Rima i Puteola (*dispensator a frumento Puteolis et Ostis*); opskrbe namirnicama (*dispensator fisci frumentari, dispensatores annonae*); skladišnih objekata (*dispensator horreorum*); poreza na nasljedstvo (*vicesima hereditatum*), cenza (*dispensator ad census provinciae*); rudnika (*dispensator aurariarum*); državnog zemljišta (*dispensator frumenti mancipalis*); legijskih teritorija (*territorium castrorum*); tributa (*dispensator a tributis*).<sup>64</sup>

S pulskog agera poznato je 25 natpisa s imenima carskih robova i oslobođenika, od kojih su nekima zaduženja specificirana titulama: dva dispenzatora, dva tabularija, šest prokuratora.<sup>65</sup> U Histriji su na agrarnim imanjima dispenzatori na epigrafskim spomenicima najbrojnija skupina među zabilježenim zanimanjima i dužnostima.<sup>66</sup> Znatno njihov broj odnosi se baš na carske dispenzatore (*Caesaris dispensator, Augusti dispensator*), koncentrirane oko carskih imanja kraj Vabriga u Poreštini, području gdje se i inače javlja velik broj natpisa s imenima princepsovih robova i oslobođenika. Kako je to davno objasnio R. Matijašić, na nekim natpisima iz Istre naziv se *dispensator* može izjednačiti sa značenjem "upravitelj imanja", dakle srodan je terminu *villicus*, ali označava upravitelja samostalnijeg od vilika.

U njima nadređenoj carskoj kancelariji u Puli bili su to službenici srednjeg ranga, stavljeni na raspolaganje prokuratoru zajedno s drugim pomoćnim osobljem: tabularijima, tabularijima *a patrimonio*, itd. To su bili, primjerice, *Helops Aug(usti servus) disp(ensator)* i *Epidectus Spendontis disp(ensator)* (InscrIt X-1, 58, 59). U Parenčiju se kao članovi nižeg ureda ovisnog o pulskome spominju funkcije *adiutor tabulariorum* i

stood at the top of the administrative pyramid of the province's *fiscus*, the *procurator Augusti provinciae Dalmatiae* (until the Trajanic period he was also in charge of the province of Pannonia: *procurator provinciarum Pannoniae et Dalmatiae*). His primary function was to oversee the collection of all revenues of the *fiscus* in Dalmatia: direct taxes (*tributum*) and numerous indirect taxes (*vectigalia*). His seat was in Salona, and the province's entire territory was under his financial jurisdiction, with the exception of military zones (*prata legionis, territorium castrorum*) which were only subsequently placed under the ownership of the *fiscus*. From the beginning, the procurator's authority also encompassed the *ager publicus*, as in the remaining imperial provinces.

The office of the procurator's *fiscus* in Salona employed an entire array of administrative officials of varying ranks in the hierarchy, charged with collecting and computing all manner of taxes and revenues, and with assigning tax collection to mediators for a fee (*publicani, conductores*). Most of these officials were members of the slave or freed classes, but the precise structure of the Salona office has never been sufficiently known. Given the incompleteness of the epigraphic sources, it is even difficult to ascertain the tax departments to which the members of the provincial imperial *fiscus* thus far known belonged (*portorium, cursus publicus, vicesima hereditatum, vicesima libertatis, ludi, alimenta*, etc.).<sup>61</sup> A plausible hypothesis is that the collection of the *vectigalia* from the imperial landed properties in Dalmatia did not constitute a significant revenue – first and foremost because there were not that many there, as opposed to Histria – so a modest number of staff in Salona that handled this tax department was to be expected. Regardless of this, it would appear likely that within the Dalmatian provincial *fiscus*, there were officials in charge of these less significant vectigal taxes in the procurator's office,<sup>62</sup> among them the *dispensatores*.

*Dispensatores* could be found in the service of private individuals, the emperor, members of the imperial family, various branches of state administration, municipalities, etc. There was a high number of *dispensatores* in the provinces, where they were in fact in the service of the imperial patrimony in the

63 Vulić 1922, str. 1920.

64 Vulić 1922, str. 1920-1922.

65 Matijašić 1998, str. 17.

66 Epigrafske potvrde dispenzatora iz Histrije (u tamošnjem kontekstu u značenju: upravitelj imanja) popisane su u: Matijašić 1996, str. 180, 182, 184. Među njima ih je nekoliko izrijekom pripadalo carskim dispenzatorima (*Caesaris dispensator, Augusti dispensator*). O namještenicima na carskim imanjima u Histriji v. i Matijašić 1988b, str. 51; Starac 1991, str. 100; Matijašić 1998, str. 17.

61 Starac 2000, pp. 53-55 (on p. 52 it is noted that "twenty-eight thus far known inscriptions of imperial slaves and freedmen" originated in Salona).

62 Moreover, Bloch 1892, p. 283 even believed that all provincial *dispensatores Augusti* whose duties were not more clearly defined belonged to the office of the provincial *fiscus*, headed by a *procurator*. More details: Liebenam 1905a, p. 1194 and Vulić 1922, p. 1922.

*subprocurator*.<sup>67</sup> U Vabrigi kod Poreča dokumentirani su *Parthenopeus Aug(usti) disp(ensator) verna* te [---] *inus Ca[esaris] n(ostru[m] servus)* *dispens(ator)* (InscrIt X-2, 220, 221). Prema tome, dispenzatori su u Histriji mogli biti uposleni kako na carskim ruralnim dobrima izvan gradskih zidina, tako i u uredima smještenima unutar grada zaduženima za nadziranje i upravljanje prihodima s tih posjeda.

Natpisi carskih robova i oslobođenika neosporno su svjedočanstvo o postojanju neke vrste posjeda u okružju mjesta pronalaska. Na mjestima gdje se nalaze, treba računati sa stanovitim oblikom carskih dobara, što je pojava koja je u literaturi odavno zamijećena i dobro istraжена. Natpisi s imenima carskih robova i oslobođenika pronalazeni su kako u gradovima, tako i u izvangradskim područjima, na ruralnim posjedima gdje se s razlogom može pretpostaviti postojanje carskih imanja (u prilog tome govori onomastika te prirodne agrarno-zemljopisne značajke terena). Središnji ured u koloniji Poli, zadužen za administriranje princepsove imovine u južnoj Istri, bio je sačinjen od prokuratora, tabularija, dispenzatora i drugog pomoćnog osoblja. U tom sklopu za carske je robove pretežno bila rezervirana služba dispenzatora. U okolici grada prostirala su se carska imanja, koja s imovinsko-pravnog gledišta nisu činila dio kolonijskog agera Pole, premda se u samome gradu nalazio ured koji je njima upravljao. Sudeći prema tim analogijama s Histrijom, gdje je rekonstruiran topografski raspored carskih dobara te njihov administrativni aparat pod prokuratorom sa sjedištem u Poli, moglo bi se pretpostaviti da je i u slučaju Salone s okolicom postojala slična upravna struktura nad carskim vlasništvom u ovom dijelu države.

Na salonitanskom municipalnom teritoriju pronađeno je nekoliko natpisa koji spominju aktualne i bivše pripadnike *familiae Caesaris*, iz ranoga i kasnog principata (CIL III, 2022, 2093=2325, 2097=8585, 8914). Uz mnogobrojne natpise s jednostavnim apozicijama *Caesaris/Augusti libertus/servus*, pojedini donose i podatke o konkretnim namještenjima unutar strukture provincijskog fiska: *dispensator Augustorum nostrorum* i *arcarius* (CIL III, 1955); Trajanov *servus dispensator* (CIL III, 8684); carski oslobođenik *tabularius provinciae Dalmatiae* (CIL III, 1993); prokurator M. Aurelije Herma, oslobođenik suvladarâ (CIL III, 2077), zatim Loh, *Augusti dispensator Dalmatiae* (CIL III, 1994=8575 = ILS, 1508), pa Frigij, oslobođenik dvojice careva *ab instrumentis* (CIL III, 1995), M. Ulpije Aleksandar *Augusti libertus ab auctoritatibus* (CIL III, 1998 = ILS, 1528); natpis M. Julija

provincijalnih ureda.<sup>63</sup> Unutar državne administracije, oni su držali sljedeće moguće položaje, uvijek u službi: imperijalnih vila i vrtovi u Rimu i Italiji (*dispensator hortorum*); *dispensator a iumentis*; nabava dragocjenih metala za kovanje novca (*dispensator rationis monetarum*); blagajne za javna djela (*dispensator operum publicorum*); javne igre i predstave (*dispensator ludi magni*); financijske usluge flote (*dispensator classis Flaviae*); luke u Rimu i Puteolu (*dispensator a frumento Puteolis et Ostis*); hrana (*dispensator fisci frumentarii, dispensatores annonae*); skladišta (*dispensator horreorum*); naslijeđe (povijesno) (*vicesima hereditarium*); popis (*dispensator ad census provinciae*); rudnici (*dispensator aurariorum*); državna zemlja (*dispensator frumenti municipalis*); legionske teritorije (*territorium castrorum*); prisilna davanja (*dispensator a tributis*).<sup>64</sup>

Postoje 25 natpisa poznatih iz Pule, među kojima su imena imperijalnih robova i oslobođenika, među kojima su dužnosti nekih navedeni: dva *dispensatores*, dva *tabularii*, i šest *procuratores*.<sup>65</sup> Na epigrafskim spomenicima iz agrarnih imanja u Histriji, *dispensatores* su najbrojnija grupa među zabilježenim zanimanjima i položajima.<sup>66</sup> Značajan broj tih bio je imperijalnih *dispensatores* (*Caesaris dispensator, Augusti dispensator*), koncentrirani oko imperijalnih imanja u Vabrigi u Poreču, odatle je bilo mnogo natpisa s imenom robova i oslobođenika. Kao što je dugo objašnjeno od R. Matijašića, na nekim natpisima iz Istre, naziv *dispensator* može se equirati s značenjem "upravitelj imanja", što je slično terminu *villicus*, ali označava administratora s većom nezavisnošću od *villicus*.

U imperijalnoj kancelariji u Puli, u koju su bili imenovani, bili su srednjo-rangni službenici, postavljeni na raspolaganje prokuratoru zajedno s ostalim pomoćnim osobljem: *tabularii, tabularii a patrimonio*, itd. Bili su, na primjer, *Helops Aug(usti servus) disp(ensator)* i *Epidectus Spendontis disp(ensator)*

63 Vulić 1922, p. 1920.

64 Vulić 1922, pp. 1920-1922.

65 Matijašić 1998, p. 17.

66 Epigrafske potvrde o *dispensatores* iz Histrije (značenje, u lokalnom kontekstu: upravitelj imanja) su navedeni u Matijašić 1996, pp. 180, 182, 184. Među njima, nekoliko je eksplicitno pripadalo imperijalnim *dispensatores* (*Caesaris dispensator, Augusti dispensator*). O imenovanjima službenika na imperijalnim imanjima u Histriji, vidi također Matijašić 1988b, p. 51; Starac 1991, p. 100; Matijašić 1998, p. 17.

67 Starac 1994, str. 136.

Feliksa *a ratione fisci* potječe, štoviše, iz Splita (CIL III, 1992=8574, iz okruženja katedrale sv. Dujma). Vrlo je zanimljiv natpis iz 2. stoljeća stanovitog Renovera, koji je bio *vicarius dispensatoris Augusti* (robopunomoćenik carskog dispenzatora), a spominje se u društvu carskih oslobođenica Elije i Elije Eutihije (ILJug III, 2119). Renover je gotovo sasvim sigurno pripadao pokrajinskoj fiskalnoj administraciji.

Za dobar se dio osoba sa citiranih natpisa s razlogom može pretpostaviti da su bile uposlene u različitim službama provincijske administracije, a ne na agrarnim ekonomijama u carskom vlasništvu.<sup>68</sup> Upravo zato u prvi plan izlaze oni natpisi carskih službenika za koje postoji više opravdanih, različitih indikacija da ne potječu iz urbanog prostora, kao i da predstavljaju stvaran trag carske prisutnosti u izvangradskim imanjima. S obzirom na to da se ovdje radi o izoliranim natpisima *familiae Caesaris*, pri njihovu automatskom povezivanju s carskim posjedima valja biti na oprezu. Treba, naime, dopustiti i mogućnost da oni označavaju privatne posjede carskih robova, koji s krunskim dobrima stvarno nemaju nikakve veze. Tek ako postoje i druge indicije o imovinsko-pravnim nadležnostima fiska, države ili princepsa osobno nad dotičnim zemljištem, dopušteno je ovakve natpise koristiti kao epigrafske pokazatelje o postojanju carskih posjeda. Kao što će se vidjeti iz nastavka, upravo je u slučaju natpisa CIL III, 2082 riječ o kombinaciji nekolicine takvih indicija. Premda epigrafijska *familiae Caesaris* na ozemlju provincije Dalmacije još uvijek nije sistematizirana, već se temeljem preliminarnog uvida može zaključiti da postoje mnoge razlike u odnosu na Histriju. U dalmatinskom su prostoru natpisi carskih robova i oslobođenika disperzirani, uglavnom bez znatnije koncentracije više njih na jednome mjestu, što otežava identifikaciju carskih posjeda na terenu. Dodatnu otegotnu okolnost predstavlja činjenica što je velik broj natpisa objavljen s netočno ili neprecizno navedenom provenijencijom (npr. u CIL-u je za natpise provenijencijom s različitih dijelova salonitanskog agera nerijetko navedeno da potječu iz Salone, dovodeći korisnika korpusa u zabludu). Podatak o točnom mjestu nalaza neobično je važan, jer se jedino na temelju njega mogu donositi mjerodavni zaključci o prisutnosti osoba s natpisa – pa utoliko i *familiae Caesaris* – u izvangradskim, ruralnim predjelima. Stoga je često potrebno posebno istražiti porijeklo svakog pojedinog natpisa, što usporava tijek proučavanja.

(InscrIt X-1, 58, 59). The functions *adiutor tabulariorum* and *subprocurator*<sup>67</sup> are mentioned in Parenthium as members of an office subordinate to the one in Pula. *Parthenopeus Aug(usti) disp(ensator) verna* and *[---]inus Ca[esaris n(ostri servus)] disp(ens)ator* (InscrIt X-2, 220, 221) were documented in Vabriga, near Poreč. Thus, in Histria *dispensatores* could have been employed both at the imperial rural estates outside of the city walls, and in offices accommodated inside the city, charged with the oversight and management of revenues from those same estates.

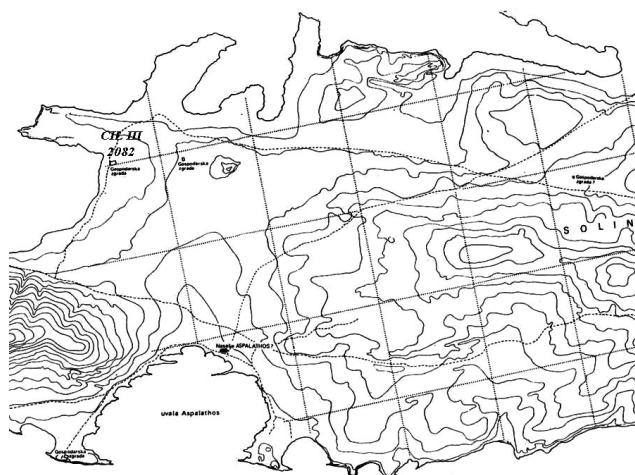
The inscriptions of imperial slaves and freedmen indisputably testify to the existence of certain types of estates in the area in which they were discovered. Some form of imperial property should be considered at the places where they were found – a phenomenon observed long before and well-researched in the relevant literature. Inscriptions containing the names of imperial slaves and freedmen have been discovered in both cities and in non-urban areas, on rural properties where the existence of imperial estates may be reasonably assumed (this is backed by onomastics and the natural agrarian and geographic features of the terrain). The central office in the colony of Pola, in charge of administration of the princeps' property in southern Istria, consisted of *procuratores*, *tabularii*, *dispensatores* and other ancillary staff. In this context, the post of *dispensator* was largely reserved for imperial slaves. Imperial estates extended within the vicinity of the city, which did not form part of the colonial ager of Pola, even though there was an office in the city itself which administered them. Judging by these analogies with Histria, where the topographic layout of the imperial possessions and their administrative apparatus under the procurator seated in Pola has been reconstructed, it may be assumed that in the case of Salona and its environs, there was a similar administrative structure over the imperial properties in that part of the State.

Several inscriptions were found in Salona's municipal territory which mention current and former members of the *familia Caesaris*, from the early and late Principate (CIL III, 2022, 2093=2325, 2097=8585, 8914). In addition to numerous inscriptions with the simple appositions *Caesaris/Augusti libertus/servus*, individual examples also contain data on specific postings within the structure of the provincial fiscus: *dispensator Augustorum nostrorum* and *arcarius* (CIL III, 1955); Trajan's *servus dispensator* (CIL III, 8684); an imperial freedman *tabularius provinciae Dalmatiae* (CIL III, 1993); procurator M. Aurelius Hermo, a freedman of the two co-emperors (CIL III, 2077), then Lochus, *Augusti dispensator Dalmatiae* (CIL III,

68 Kako smatra Matijašić 1998, str. 20. O administrativnim funkcijama carskih robova i oslobođenika u Iliriku sažeto u: Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006a, str. 38-39.

67 Starac 1994, p. 136.





Sl. 3. Centurija 4-5/G-H i natpis CIL III, 2082 u centurijaciji splitskog poluotoka (Marasović, Oreb 1976-1977, karta 2)

Fig. 3. Century 4-5/G-H and inscription CIL III, 2082 in the centuriation of the Split peninsula (Marasović, Oreb 1976-1977, map 2)

U epigrafiji rimskodobne Dalmacije sačuvan je tek malen broj natpisa koji ukazuju na carske posjede. To su: žrtvenik carskog roba Feliksa posvećen Sentoni iz Flanone (ILJug III, 2901), natpis carskog oslobođenika Euhemera u čast Dijani Augusti s Dugog otoka (ILJug II, 928) te tri natpisa iz Narone: carskog oslobođenika M. Ulpia Nedima (CIL III, 1792, u čast Merkuru Augustu), carskog dispenzatora Atimeta Ulpijana Menofana (CIL III, 1839) i Nikefora Aprila (CIL III, 1865), roba neimenovanog carskog oslobođenika. Teritorijima koji su u Dalmaciji na različite načine bili pod režimom carskoga fiska i/ili patrimonija mogu se pridružiti još, primjerice, bivši burnumski *territorium legionis* između Krke i Promine – o čijoj veličini i kompaktnosti postoje različita mišljenja<sup>69</sup> – zatim *Praetorium Caesaris* u današnjoj Grebašnici ili

1994=8575 = ILS, 1508), and Phrygius, a freedman of two emperors *ab instrumentis* (CIL III, 1995), M. Ulpius Alexander *Augusti libertus ab auctoritatibus* (CIL III, 1998 = ILS, 1528); the inscription of M. Julius Felix *a ratione fisci* originated, moreover, in Split (CIL III, 1992=8574, vicinity of the Cathedral of St. Domnius). A very interesting inscription from the second century mentions a certain Renoverus, who was a *vicarius dispensatoris Augusti* (a slave/freedman of an imperial *dispensator*) in the company of the imperial freedmen Aelius and Aelius Eutychi (ILJug III, 2119). Renoverus almost certainly belonged to the provincial fiscal administration.

It may be reasonably assumed that a large portion of the persons in the cited inscriptions were employed in various departments of provincial administrations, and not in the agrarian estates under imperial ownership.<sup>68</sup> This is precisely why the inscriptions that come to the fore are those of imperial officials for which there are several justified, different indications that they do not come from urban areas, and that they constitute genuine traces of the imperial presence in extra-urban estates. Given that in this case it is a matter of isolated inscriptions of the *familia Caesaris*, caution should be exercised before automatically linking them to imperial estates. One should in fact allow for the possibility that they refer to the private holdings of imperial slaves, which actually had no connections with the crown's properties. It is only if there are other indications on the title rights of the *fiscus*, state or *princeps* over a given piece of land that such inscriptions can be used as epigraphic indicators of the existence of imperial estates. As will be shown below, the case of inscription CIL III, 2082 indeed contains a combination of several such indicators.

Although the epigraphy of the *familia Caesaris* in the territory of Dalmatia has still not been systematized, one may conclude even on the basis of a preliminary inspection that there are many differences in comparison to Histria. In Dalmatia, the inscriptions of imperial slaves are dispersed, generally without any significant concentration of them at any single locale, which renders the identification of imperial estates difficult. An additional exacerbating circumstance is the fact that a high number of inscriptions was published with either inaccurately or imprecisely specified provenance (e.g. in CIL, inscriptions originally from various parts of the Salona ager are not infrequently described as being from Salona, creating misconceptions among users of the *Corpus*). Data on

69 Oko godine 118. osnovan je *municipium Burnum*; međutim, teritorij nekadašnjeg vojnog logora ušao je u sastav carskog fiska, a municipalni teritorij Burna određen je Krkom, sjevernim dijelom Promine i linijom između Razvođa i Oklaja. O burnumskom *territorium legionis*: Zaninović 1996 i Wilkes 1969, str. 392; o kasnijem razvoju: Starac 2000, str. 36-37, 101-102 i Basić 2009, str. 57 (sa starijom literaturom). Crawford 1976, str. 57-70, donosi *A working-list of imperial estates for the first three centuries A.D.* Provincija Dalmacija nije uključena u katalog, dok je Histrija zastupljena nedostatno s obzirom na obilje epigrafskih svjedočanstava o carskim posjedima – v. Starac 1994, str. 140 i bilj. 37; Matijašić 1998, str. 18-20; Starac 1999, str. 73-74, 77 i d. Carski posjedi u Dalmaciji su ispušteni i u današnjem katalogu Hirschfeld 1902. Carska su imanja bila

68 As pointed out by Matijašić 1998, p. 20. For a summary of the administrative functions of imperial slaves and freedmen in Illyricum: Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006a, pp. 38-39.

Starom Trogiru i između Šibenika i Trogira<sup>70</sup> te otoci Mljet i Korčula. Dioklecijanova se palača, kao carska rezidencija, također nalazila na posjedima fiska koji su je okruživali.<sup>71</sup> Ima, k tome, naznaka da su se carski posjedi prostirali i na drugim točkama splitskog poluotoka, primjerice oko franjevačkog samostana (ranokršćanski kompleks Sv. Feliksa) zapadno od Palače; ondje se – sudeći prema dvama natpisima – najkasnije od 3. st. nalazilo groblje zaposlenika u salonitanskoj državnoj tvornici oružja (*fabrica Salonitana armorum*), koja se stoga mogla nalaziti negdje u blizini (dakako, na zemljištu u vlasništvu države).<sup>72</sup>

S obzirom na postojanje grobnice obogaćenih carskih robova na Poljudu, kao i na običaj da robovi i oslobođenici priređuju sebi grobnice na posjedima svojih patrona, pomalja se pitanje nije li na splitskom Poljudu bilo posjeda u vlasništvu cara? No isto tako moglo bi se postaviti pitanje: ne potječe li poljudski natpis izvorno iz gradskog područja Salone? U tom slučaju on ne bi mogao služiti kao indikator carskih posjeda. Međutim, prema objavljenim istraživanjima redovnika poljudskog samostana fra Lava Krivića, koji je po izvornoj arhivskoj građi samostana istraživao porijeklo tog natpisa,<sup>73</sup> radi se o spomeniku koji je na licu mjesta zatečen pri gradnji kapele u 16. ili

the precise find site is unusually important, because only on that basis can valid conclusions be made on the presence of the persons from the inscription – including the *familia Caesaris* – in extra-urban, rural tracts. It is therefore often quite important to specifically research the origins of each individual inscription, which slows down the pace of study.

Only a small number of inscriptions testifying to imperial estates have been preserved in the epigraphy of Roman-era Dalmatia. These are: an altar of the imperial slave Felix, dedicated to Sentona from Flanona (ILJug III, 2901), an inscription of the imperial freedman Euhemerus in honour of Diana Augusta from the Dugi otok (ILJug II, 928), and three inscriptions from Narona: of the imperial freedman M. Ulpius Nedimus (CIL III, 1792, in honour of Mercury Augustus), of the imperial *dispensator* Atimetus Ulpianus Menophanus (CIL III, 1839) and Nicephorus Aprilus (CIL III, 1865), a slave of an unnamed imperial freedman. The other territories in Dalmatia which were in various ways under the regime of the imperial fiscus and/or patrimony included, for example, the former *Burnum territorium legionis* between the Krka River and Promina – with differing opinions on the size and compactness thereof<sup>69</sup> – followed by *Praetorium Caesaris* in today's Grebaštica or Stari Trogir between Šibenik and Trogir,<sup>70</sup> and the islands of Mljet and Korčula. Diocletian's Palace, as an imperial residence, was also

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slabo zastupljena i u Grčkoj (provincija Ahaja) – usp. Camia, Rizakis 2013.

- 70 O tome v. Basić 2010, str. 176-177, sa starijom literaturom. O burnumskom *territorium legionis* posljednji je pisao Čače 2013, str. 31-35, uz osvrt na dotadašnju literaturu. O istraženosti carskih/državnih posjeda u Dalmaciji: Turković 2011, str. 213-215, 223, 227 (bilj. 6), 229 (bilj. 37 i 38), 233 (bilj. 111 i 112).
- 71 Basić 2012a, str. 138-150; Basić 2012b, str. 16-35; Basić 2013, str. 50-55, 71-91, 471-496; Basić 2014.
- 72 CIL III, 2043; 2107=8589 = ILS, 7236. Prema Alföldyju, Maurencijev natpis pripada razdoblju dominata, a Kvintijanov razdoblju kasnog principata – Alföldy 1969, str. 241, 279. O tome v. Cambi 2005, str. 139-140, koji također s oprezom zaključuje da se ta tvornica “mogla nalaziti negdje u blizini Sv. Frane”. Cambi oba natpisa datira u konac 3. ili početak 4. st.
- 73 Krivić 1990, str. 7, spominje “kamenu ploču, veličine 68 za 157 cm, s natpisom o Kaju Orhiviju na vanjskom zidu istočne kapele”. Zaključuje da je ploča ugrađena tijekom gradnje te kapele 1678. godine. Prema rukopisnoj povijesti *La chiesa e il convento delle Paludi* gvardijana fra Vincenza Catrambonea iz otprilike 1900. godine, franjevci su ploču prenijeli iz solinskih ruševina, ali nije naveden izvor za tu tvrdnju. Prema rezultatima Krivićevih istraživanja, natpis je iz neposredne blizine sadašnjega položaja, tj. zatečen je više-manje *in situ*. Cambi 1985-1986, str. 103, također pretpostavlja da bi natpis mogao biti lokalne provenijencije.

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69 The *municipium Burnum* was established at around the year 118; however, the territory of the former military camp was incorporated into the imperial fiscal system, while the municipal territory of Burnum was bounded by the Krka River, the northern part of Promina and the line between Razvođe and Oklaj. On the *Burnum territorium legionis*: Zaninović 1996 and Wilkes 1969, p. 392; on later developments: Starac 2000, pp. 36-37, 101-102 and Basić 2009, p. 57 (with a review of earlier literature). Crawford 1976, pp. 57-70 provided “a working-list of imperial estates for the first three centuries A.D.” The province of Dalmatia was not included in the catalogue, while Histria was covered insufficiently given the abundance of epigraphic sources from imperial estates – see Starac 1994, p. 140 and note 37; Matijašić 1998, pp. 18-20; Starac 1999, pp. 73-74, 77 ff. The imperial estates in Dalmatia were also left out of the far older catalogue in Hirschfeld 1902. The imperial estates were also scarce in Greece (province of Achaea) – cf. Camia, Rizakis 2013.

70 On this see Basić 2010, pp. 176-177, with older literature. The last to write about the *Burnum territorium legionis* was Čače 2013, pp. 31-35, with a review on the state of scholarship. On the level of research into the imperial/state properties in Dalmatia: Turković 2011, pp. 213-215, 223, 227 (note 6), 229 (notes 37 and 38), 233 (note 111 and 112).

17. stoljeću.<sup>74</sup> Premda, dakle, postoji načelna mogućnost da je ploča s natpisom bila prenesena iz Salone ili s kojega drugog mjesta, najvjerojatnije je da je bila izvorno postavljena na području njezina kasnijeg pronalaska. Da je mjesto na kojem je građen poljudski samostan bilo naseljavano već u ranoj antici, pokazuje i ostatak neobjavljenoga nadgrobnog natpisa s desnim dijelom formule *Dis Manibus*, ugrađen u istočni zid samostana.<sup>75</sup> Natpis Onesima, vikarija stanovitog Asklepija, provenijencijom također s Poljuda, već je objavljen (CIL III, 2146=8598); potječe iz kasnog principata.

Druga naznaka da se radilo upravo o carskom posjedu, a ne o privatnom posjedu carskih oslobođenika, jest činjenica da se ovo zemljište nalazilo na sjeverozapadnom rubu poluotoka, u dijelu centurijacije salonitanskog agera koji su definirali kardo 5 i dekuman H (sl. 3).<sup>76</sup> Te koordinate nisu mogle zatvoriti pravilnu centuriju jer ih je u tome sprječavala nepravilna morska obala sa zaljevom između dvaju rtova, današnjeg Malog rata i Lore. Time se područje Poljuda nalazilo u istoj pravnoj poziciji kao carski posjed na mjestu Dioklecijanove palače. Raščlamba izvora i razloga koji upućuju na zaključak da je područje na kojemu je sagrađena careva palača trajno bilo izdvojeno iz sastava salonitanskoga kolonijskog agera i kompetencije nadležnoga municipaliteta, iznesena je već u više navrata,<sup>77</sup> te ju ovdje nema potrebe opetovati.

located on the fiscal estates that surrounded it.<sup>71</sup> There are, then, indications that imperial estates extended to other parts of the Split peninsula, for example around the Franciscan monastery (Early Christian complex of St. Felix) west of the palace; judging by two inscriptions, there was a cemetery of workers in Salona arms factory (*fabrica Salonitana armorum*) at that location since the third century at the latest, which would presumably be somewhere in the vicinity (on land owned by the state, to be sure).<sup>72</sup>

Given the existence of a tomb of enriched imperial slaves at Poljud, as well as the custom of slaves and freedmen arranging tombs for themselves on the estates of their masters, the question arises as to whether there was an estate owned by the emperor in Split's Poljud section. However, a question that may by the same token be posed is whether the Poljud inscription was originally from the urban territory of Salona. In this case, it could not serve as an indicator of an imperial estate. However, according to the published research conducted by a monk at the Poljud monastery, friar Lav Krivić, who searched for the origin of this inscription among the original archival materials in the monastery,<sup>73</sup> this was a monument that was found at the site during construction of the chapel in the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>74</sup> Although there is, thus, a

74 U dosadašnjoj literaturi podaci o vremenu izgradnje kapele prilično su škrti: Krivić 1990, str. 19, smatra da je zapadna kapela sagrađena u 16. st., pripisujući čitavu gradnju, oltar, oltarnu palu i obiteljske grobnice narudžbi obitelji Scaligeri (poziva se na Catramboneovu rukopisnu kroniku); istočna bi bila podignuta 1678. godine. Tomić 1997, str. 6, piše da su bočne kapele na južnoj strani crkve dograđene u 16. st. Zapadnu je prema njemu sredinom 16. st. podigla obitelj Benedetti (prema Krivić 1990, str. 19, oni su je naslijedili od obitelji Scaligeri), dok se o dataciji istočne kapele ne izjašnjava. Prema Škunca 2002, str. 200, obje kapele izgrađene su početkom 16. st.

75 Krivić 1990, str. 7-8, spominje ostatke još jednog natpisa ugrađenog u unutarnji zid samostanskog vrta, pokraj zapadne kapele, sa 44 vidljiva slova: D-M-OVIN-E-CON-SE-IE-OVE-VIX-EN-III-OVEMV-XI. Natpis (dimenzije 41 × 38 cm) je nesumnjivo sepulkralni. Iz obilaska samostana poznat mi je drugi, neobjavljeni ulomak nadgrobnog natpisa sa sačuvanim ostatkom početne formule *D(is) M(anibus)*, ugrađen u vanjsko lice istočnog zida samostana. Sačuvan je gornji desni kut natpisnog polja, s ostatkom ugaone profilacije.

76 Oznake prema numeraciji u Suić 1955, sl. 8.

77 Vidi radove navedene u bilj. 71, u kojima je citirana i relevantna literatura. Problem je prvi otvorio Cambi 2010, str. 172.

71 Basić 2012a, pp. 138-150; Basić 2012b, pp. 16-35; Basić 2013, pp. 50-55, 71-91, 471-496; Basić 2014.

72 CIL III, 2043; 2107=8589 = ILS, 7236. According to Alföldy, the inscription of Maurentius belongs to the period of the Dominate, while that of Quintianus to the late Principate – Alföldy 1969, pp. 241, 279. On this see Cambi 2005, pp. 139-140 who also cautiously concluded that the factory “could have been somewhere in the vicinity of St. Francis”. Cambi dated both inscriptions to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 4<sup>th</sup> cent.

73 Krivić 1990, p. 7 mentioned “a stone slab, with dimensions of 68 x 157 cm, with an inscription of Caius Orchivius on the external wall of the eastern chapel”. He concluded that the slab had been installed during construction of the chapel in 1678. According to the manuscript history *La chiesa e il convento delle Paludi* by the guardian, friar Vincenzo Catrambone from ca. 1900, the Franciscans took the slab from the ruins in Solin, but no source for this assertion was cited. According to the results of Krivić's research, the inscription is from the immediate vicinity of its current location, i.e., it was found more or less *in situ*. Cambi 1985-1986, p. 103 also assumed that the inscription could be of local origin.

74 In the previous literature, data on the date of the chapel's construction are rather meagre: Krivić 1990, p. 19 believed that the western chapel was built in the 16<sup>th</sup> cent., ascribing the entire structure, altar, altar pall and family tomb to a commission from the Scaligeri family (he cited Catrambone's manuscript chronicle);



U najkraćim crtama, ono je pripadalo kategoriji zemljišta koje se zbog topografskih anomalija (nepravilna konfiguracija oboda centurije) nije moglo uobličiti u pravilan centurijacijski kvadrat. Ovakve nepotpune, krnje čestice nazivane su *subsecivum*, “podsječeno, potkresano” (*a subsecante linea*) i podlijevale su pravnom režimu *ius subsecivorum*. Nepotpune centurije nisu mogle biti dodijeljene koloniji pri njezinu osnutku (*adsignatio*). Jedini pravni postupak kojemu su mogle biti podvrgnute bile su *concessio* i *restitutio*. U prvome se slučaju radilo o ustupanju zemljišta s ovakvim pravnim statusom najbližoj koloniji *ex beneficio principis*, dok su u drugome slučaju one, naprosto, ostajale u državnome vlasništvu (*auctor divisionis*). U potonjem slučaju one su ostajale pod ingerencijom provincijskoga magistrata ili vojskovođe s imperijem, uz mogućnost da po vladarevu nahođenju jednom budu dodijeljene proizvoljnome broju osoba. Krnjim se centurijama, dakle, mogao proširiti teritorij kolonije nekom naknadnom dedukcijom ili su one zadržavane kako bi se dodjeljivale individualno. U oba slučaja o zemljištima ove kategorije vodila se posebna evidencija jer su uvedena u *Liber beneficiorum* ili *Liber subsicivorum*, ovisno o provedenoj odluci. U iznimnim su slučajevima *subseciva agri* bivale vraćane prvobitnim posjednicima, najčešće epihorskim zajednicama. Nepotpune centurije (*subseciva agri*) ubrajale su se u *fundi populi Romani*, odnosno kolektivno vlasništvo rimskog naroda (*ager publicus populi Romani*); drugim riječima, bile su dio državnog zemljišta. Pitanje precizne demarkacije granica teritorija gradske općine spram zemalja drugačijega pravnog statusa i zasebnog oblika administracije (carska imanja, *ager publicus*, hramski posjedi i dr.) bilo je od velike važnosti jer su se njegovim definiranjem utvrđivali agrarni prinosi ostvareni izravnim obrađivanjem zemlje i financijski prihodi ostvareni najmom i porezima. Stoga je već flavijevskim *lex Irnitana* magistratima bila propisana godišnja inspekcija *fines, agri i vectigalia*. Razumljiva je, stoga, motivacija zainteresiranih strana da jasno omeđe granice dotičnih administracija na terenu te se na taj način zaštite od mogućih presizanja. *Ager publicus* su na provincijskom tlu, kako je već izloženo, od početka principata administrirali pripadnici fiska. Iako se, dakle, radilo o formalno državnom zemljištu, administrirali su ga službenici fiska; u skladu s tim, podavanja s njega tretirana su kao *vectigalia*.<sup>78</sup> Time se već od početka

theoretical possibility that the slab with the inscription was moved from Salona or from some other site, it is most likely that it was originally installed in the area of its later discovery. That the area at which the Poljud monastery was inhabited already in early Antiquity has been shown by the remainder of an unpublished grave inscription with the right portion of the phrase *Dis Manibus*, built into the monastery's eastern wall.<sup>75</sup> The inscription of Onesimus, a *vicarius* of a certain Asclepius, also originally from Poljud, has already been published (CIL III, 2146=8598); it originated during the late Principate.

Another indication that this was indeed an imperial estate, and not the private estate of an imperial freedman, is the fact that this land was on the north-western edge of the peninsula, in the part of the centuriation of the Salona ager which has been defined as *cardo 5* and *decuman H* (Fig. 3).<sup>76</sup> These coordinates could not have closed the regular century because this was prevented by the irregular seashore with an inlet between two promontories, today's Mali Rat and Lora. The area of Poljud thereby had the same legal status as an imperial estate at the site of Diocletian's Palace. The explanation of the sources and reasons that point to the conclusion that the land on which the emperor's palace was built was permanently separated from the Salona colonial ager and the jurisdiction of its municipality has already been put forth many times before,<sup>77</sup> and there is no need to repeat it here.

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the eastern one would have been raised in 1678. Tomić 1997, p. 6 wrote that the lateral chapels on the southern side of the church were additionally built in the 16<sup>th</sup> cent. The western chapel was, according to him, raised in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> cent. by the Benedetti family (according to Krivić 1990, p. 19 they were the heirs of the Scaligeri family), while he did not express an opinion on the dating of the eastern chapel. According to Škunca 2002, p. 200 both chapels were built at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> cent.

75 Krivić 1990, pp. 7-8 mentioned the remains of another inscription built into an interior wall of the monastery's garden, next to the chapel, with 44 visible letters: D-M-OVIN-E-CON-SE-IE-OVE-VIX-EN-II-II-OVEMV-XI. The inscription (dimensions: 41 × 38 cm) is undoubtedly sepulchral. Based on a tour of the monastery, I am familiar with another, unpublished inscription with the preserved remains of the initial phrase *D(is) M(anibus)*, built into the external face of the monastery's wall. The upper right-hand corner of the inscription field has been preserved, with the remains of the corner moulding.

76 Designations based on numeration in Suić 1955, Fig. 8.

77 See the works specified in note 71, in which the relevant literature is also cited. The problem was first pointed out by Cambi 2010, p. 172.

78 Starac 1999, str. 74-75; Starac 2000, str. 50-53. O pravnim svojstvima *ager publicus* u vrijeme principata još je uvijek koristan Hirschfeld 1905, str. 139-144; suvremen i detaljan istraživački pristup predstavlja Roselaar 2010, str. 86-145. Odgovarajuća problematika o

principata počela gubiti razlika između dobara različitih pravnih kategorija, podčinjenih fisku.

Činjenicu da je ova kategorija zemljišta bila neotuđivim dijelom državne domene iskoristili su u Italiji upravo carevi Vespazijan i Tit,<sup>79</sup> pokušavši revindici-rati posjede i regulirati obveze njihovih posjednika prema državi: dio *subseciva* država je prodala, što je za obitelji naseljene na njima već generacijama, koje su nasljedno uživale zemljište pod ovim režimom, bilo krajnje neprihvatljivo; za dio je spomenutih zemalja, pak, zatražena potpuna isplata dužnih daća, zanemarivanih godinama. No negativna reakcija mjesnih magistrata, korporacija i privatnika koja je uslijedila bila je toliko snažna da je Domicijan bio prisiljen ediktom za Italiju *in perpetuo* priznati vlasništvo nad posjedima postojećim *possessores*. Izvan Italije ovakva su zemljišta kontinuirano ostajala formalno državnim vlasništvom, sa zadržanom mogućnošću njihova povratka i u operativni posjed. Dapače, Vespazijan i Tit restrukturirali su administraciju nad krunskim posjedima, uspostavivši zasebna računovodstva za javna dobra (također u sklopu fiska) i ona koja su spadala pod *patrimonium*. Iz vremena Vespazijanove vladavine datira i praktično dokidanje razlika u tretiranju carskih posjeda u carskim i onih u senatskim provincijama, budući da car od tada imenuje prokurate vlastitih imanja i u potonjima.<sup>80</sup> Nema sumnje da su srodni zahvati vršeni i pri uređivanju istočnojadranskog dijela carskih imanja, pa tako i u salonitanskom ageru. Ne bi, dakle, smjelo biti slučajno što s Poljuda – dijela nepotpune centurije te stoga u sklopu *ius subsecivorum* – potječe natpis obitelji carskog roba i službenika iz vremena flavijevske dinastije: on bi mogao predstavljati epigrafsku potvrdu prostiranja državnih, kasnije carskih posjeda upravo na tom mjestu splitskog poluotoka. Sve nas to navodi na pretpostavku da je na Poljudu postojalo carsko imanje.

S kraja Neronove vladavine potječu prve informacije o prokuratorima carskih zemljišnih imanja u provinciji (tada je u Kartagi zabilježen *procurator centenarius* viteškoga staleža).<sup>81</sup> S Vespazijanovom vladavinom počinje preustroj carskih posjeda u teritorijalne distrikte. Na njihovu su čelu stajali prokurator i u rang u oslobođenika; podređene su im bile skupine

In the briefest terms, it belonged to the category of land which due to topographic anomalies (irregular configuration of the century's edge) could not be formed into a standard centuriated square. Such incomplete, truncated sections were called *subsecivum*, "cut off, superfluous" (*a subsecante linea*) and subjected to the *ius subsecivorum* regime. Incomplete centuries could not be allocated to a colony prior to its establishment (*adsignatio*). The sole legal procedures to which they could be subjected were *concessio* and *restitutio*. The former involved conceding land with this status to the nearest colony *ex beneficio principis*, while the latter meant that it simply remained under state ownership (*auctor divisionis*). In the latter case, they remained under the jurisdiction of the provincial magistrate or military commander with *imperium*, with the possibility that at the emperor's discretion they could be assigned to an arbitrary number of people. Truncated centuries could, therefore, expand the territory of a colony by some subsequent deduction or they were retained so as to be assigned individually. In both cases, special records on land in this category were maintained, as they were registered in the *Liber beneficiorum* or *Liber subsicivorum*, depending on the executed decision. In exceptional cases, the *subseciva agri* were returned to their original owners, most often native, epichoric communities. Incomplete centuries (*subseciva agri*) were counted among the *fundi populi Romani*, meaning the collective property of the Roman people (*ager publicus populi Romani*); in other words, they were a component of state-owned land. The question of precise demarcation of the boundaries between the territories of urban municipalities and lands with a different legal status and special form of administration (imperial estates, *ager publicus*, temple property, etc.) had considerable importance, because its definition made it possible to ascertain the agrarian yields generated by direct cultivation of the land and the financial income earned through leases and taxes. Thus, it was already the Flavian *lex Irnitana* which stipulated that magistrates had to conduct annual inspections of *fines*, *agri* and *vectigalia*. The motivation of the interested parties in clearly setting the boundaries of the relevant jurisdictions in the field is therefore understandable, as this was a way to safeguard against potential encroachments. The *ager publicus* in provincial territory was, as stated above, administered by members of the *fiscus* since the beginning of the Principate. Even though this was formally state-owned land, it was administered by officials of the *fiscus*; in this vein, levies from it were treated as *vectigalia*.<sup>78</sup>

rubnim dijelovima limitacije i njihovu pravnom tretmanu iscrpno je obrađena u Basić 2012b, gdje se nalazi i sva relevantna literatura.

79 Crawford 1976, str. 53; Basić 2012b, str. 19.

80 Starac 1994, str. 140.

81 To je bio *Baebius Massa*, kojeg spominje Tacit (*Hist.*, IV, 50) na toj funkciji 69. godine. U literaturi se stoga zaključuje da je prokuratela osnovana najkasnije za Nerona – Weaver 1972, str. 255; Starac 1994, str. 140.

78 Starac 1999, pp. 74-75; Starac 2000, pp. 50-53. For the legal status of the *ager publicus* during the Principate, Hirschfeld 1905, pp. 139-144 is still useful; a

carskih robova (*familiae*) specijaliziranih zaduženja, dok su predstojnici svake pojedine familije (*villici* ili *actores*) upravljali pojedinim posjedovnim česticama (*praedia*).<sup>82</sup> Upravo Vespazijanovo zakonodavstvo, kako je već navedeno, iskazuje pojačano zanimanje za razrješavanje problema *ager publicus*. Isti vladar je, uz to, decentralizirao upravu nad carskim posjedima, postavivši prokurateure carskih posjeda i u senatskim provincijama te utemeljivši niz odjela prema odgovarajućim regijama Italije (u to vrijeme osnovan je i fiskalni ured za carska dobra u Puli). Strukturu dvaju histrijskih ureda za upravu nad tamošnjim carskim dobrima A. Starac rekonstruirala je na sljedeći način.<sup>83</sup> Prvi je utemeljen za Vespazijana, drugi najkasnije za Marka Aurelija, a oba su u ovom sastavu djelovala do razdoblja dominata:

POLA	
1	<i>procurator, Augusti libertus</i> ili <i>ingenuus</i>
2-4	<i>tabularii a patrimonio, Augusti liberti</i>
2-4	<i>adiutores tabulariorum, Augusti servi</i>
1	<i>dispensator, Augusti servus</i>
1	<i>arcarius, Augusti servus</i>

PARENTIUM	
1	<i>subprocurator, Augusti libertus</i> ili <i>ingenuus</i>
2	<i>tabularii, Augusti liberti</i>
2	<i>adiutores tabulariorum, Augusti liberti</i> ili <i>servi</i>
1	<i>dispensator, Augusti servus</i>
1	<i>arcarius, Augusti servus</i>

Iz Vespazijanova vremena datira i nov zakonodavni okvir o carskim dobrima: ona se masovno daju u zakup konduktorima, dok se kolonima kao radna obveza određuje briga o životinjama namijenjenim državnoj poštanskoj službi (*cursus publicus*); s druge strane, Vespazijanovim konstitucijama reguliraju se i odnosi princepsovih imanja prema municipalitetima, strože nego dotad razdvajajući nadležnosti nad njima između carskoga i općinskog suvereniteta (za određivanje radnih i poreznih obveza ovlašteni su isključivo carevi prokurator, a gradski magistrati gube civilnu jurisdikciju nad zakupcima i kolonima). Zamjetljiva je, prema tome, težnja prvoga flavijevskog cara za jasnom demarkacijom carskih dobara od okolnih teritorija, za jednoznačnim definiranjem prava i obveza njihovih obrađivača te za preciziranjem unutarnjih i vanjskih imovinsko-pravnih jurisdikcijskih odnosa. Sada, kada smo konkretnije utvrdili kakav je bio povijesni, politički i ekonomski kontekst u kojem

Thus, already at the onset of the Principate, the differences between properties in differing legal categories but subordinated to the *fiscus*, began to fade.

The fact is that this category of land was an inalienable component of the state domain was exploited in Italy precisely by the emperors Vespasian and Titus<sup>79</sup> in an attempt to revise the estates and regulate the liabilities of their owners to the state: a part of the *subseciva* was sold by the state, which was entirely unacceptable to the families inhabiting them for generations and which had enjoyed use of the land for generations under this regime by inheritance; for some of these lands, on the other hand, full payment of all due levies, neglected for years, was sought. However, the negative reaction of local magistrates, corporations and private owners that followed was so intense that Domitian was compelled to issue an edict for Italy *in perpetuo* to acknowledge ownership over the estates to the existing *possessores*. Outside of Italy, such lands formally remained state property, with the possibility of its return to operative possession retained. To be sure, Vespasian and Titus restructured administration of the crown's possessions, establishing separate accountancy for state properties (also within the structure of the *fiscus*) and those that came under the *patrimonium*. The practical elimination of the differences in treatment of imperial estates in imperial and in senatorial provinces dated since the time of the Vespasian's reign, since it was from that time that the emperor appointed procurators for his own estates and in the senatorial as well.<sup>80</sup> There can be no doubt that similar undertakings were also applied to the regulation of the Eastern Adriatic part of the imperial estates, including the Salona *ager*. It should not, therefore, be coincidental that an inscription of the family of an imperial slave and official originated in Poljud – part of an incomplete century and thus encompassed by the *ius subsecivorum* – from the time of the Flavian dynasty: it may constitute an epigraphic confirmation of the extent of state, and later imperial, properties precisely at that locale on the Split peninsula. All of this points to the hypothesis that there was an imperial estate at Poljud.

The first information on procurators of the imperial landed estates in the province date to the end of Nero's reign (at the time, a *procurator centenarius*

82 O Vespazijanovoj reorganizaciji patrimonija v. Boulvert 1970, str. 210 i d.; Camodeca 2007, str. 148.

83 Starac 1994, str. 141.

modern and detailed research approach can be found in Roselaar 2010, pp. 86-145. The problems pertaining to peripheral parts of limitations and their legal treatment are covered exhaustively in Basić 2012b, where all the relevant literature can also be found.

79 Crawford 1976, p. 53; Basić 2012b, p. 19.

80 Starac 1994, p. 140.



nastaje poljudski Amemptov natpis, moguće je s čvršćih polazišta razmotriti moguće uzroke i povode njegova nastanka.

S obzirom na sukladnu situaciju u Istri i drugdje na prostoru Carstva, opravdano je pretpostaviti da su u okolici Salone – gdje je djelovao nadležni ured za upravljanje carskom imovinom – dispensatori mogli biti uposleni i na carskim ruralnim dobrima izvan grada, poput Poljuda. Funkcija dispensatora epigrafski je dokumentirana na natpisima Salone. Tu su službu uvijek obavljali carski robovi, pripadnici *familiae Caesaris*. Upravo je grobnica obitelji carskog roba dispensatora registrirana na području koje je pravno podlijevalo statusu *ager publicus*, administriranu od strane fiska; lokalno porijeklo nadgrobno natpisa dobro je dokumentirano. Posvemašnji preustroj carskih dobara u rimskoj državi proveo je car Vespazijan i njegovi neposredni nasljednici, čvršće uspostavivši odnose imanja prema okolnim teritorijima, s posebnim interesom iskazanim za *ager publicus* i rigorozniji nadzor nad njim. Natpisi obitelji Orhivija, carskih robova i službenika, datiraju se potkraj Neronove i početkom Vespazijanove vladavine, a oba potječu s područja koje je pripadalo carskom fisku. Sve nam to dopušta da pretpostavku o postojanju državnog, zatim carskog posjeda na sjeverozapadnom rubu Splitskog poluotoka smatramo još čvršćom.

Raspoloživi *ager publicus* davao se u najam najmoćnijim (*mancipes*), koji su zauzvrat bili dužni u naturi plaćati *frumentum mancipale*. Prihodi s tih zemljišta sabirali su se u središnjem uredu u Rimu, u kojem su bili zaposleni *dispensatores frumenti mancipalis*. Na pokrajinskoj razini zabilježeni su isti ti službenici, ali tek u kasnom principatu i u malom broju slučajeva, npr. CIL II, 1197: *Pius Aug(usti) n(ostr)i verna dispensator [frumen]t(i) mancip(alis)*.<sup>84</sup>

S obzirom na kasnu potvrdu te službe i njezinu slabu zastupljenost u izvorima, nemoguće je utvrditi je li dispensator Amempto na splitskom poluotoku bio zadužen upravo za *frumenta mancipalis*, makar ni tu mogućnost ne treba sasvim odbaciti.<sup>85</sup> Neovisno, međutim, o tome je li Amempto bio nadglednik prihoda u tada tako ustrojenoj službi (ili u nekoj njezinoj drugačije ustrojenoj prethodnici), stoje sljedeće činjenice:

of the equestrian order was recorded in Carthage).<sup>81</sup> The reorganization of the imperial estates into territorial districts began with Vespasian's rule. These were headed by procurators with the rank of freedmen; groups of imperial slaves (*familiae*) with specialized functions were subordinate to them, while the chiefs of each individual family (*villici* or *actores*) administered individual property lots (*praedia*).<sup>82</sup> It was in fact Vespasian's legislation, as noted above, which expressed an increased interest in resolving the problem of the *ager publicus*. This same ruler additionally decentralized administration of the imperial properties, appointing imperial property procurators in the senatorial provinces as well, and establishing a series of departments in the corresponding regions of Italy (at that time a fiscal office for the imperial properties in Pola was established). A. Starac reconstructed the structure of the two Histrian administrative offices for the local imperial properties in the following manner.<sup>83</sup> The first was established during Vespasian's time, while the other was established during the reign of Marcus Aurelius at the latest, and both operated in this composition up until the Dominate:

POLA	
1	<i>procurator, Augusti libertus ili ingenuus</i>
2-4	<i>tabularii a patrimonio, Augusti liberti</i>
2-4	<i>adiutores tabulariorum, Augusti servi</i>
1	<i>dispensator, Augusti servus</i>
1	<i>arcarius, Augusti servus</i>

PARENTIUM	
1	<i>subprocurator, Augusti libertus ili ingenuus</i>
2	<i>tabularii, Augusti liberti</i>
2	<i>adiutores tabulariorum, Augusti liberti ili servi</i>
1	<i>dispensator, Augusti servus</i>
1	<i>arcarius, Augusti servus</i>

The new legislative framework on imperial properties also dated to Vespasian's time: they were massively leased to contractors, while the *coloni* were given the mandatory duty of caring for the animals intended for the imperial postal service (*cursus publicus*); on the other hand, Vespasian's constitutions also regulated the estates of the *princeps* vis-à-vis the municipalities more strictly than before, dividing jurisdiction over

84 Vulić 1922, str. 1921-1922. Otkad je za vladavine Septimija Severa *ager publicus* u cijelosti postao dijelom carske *ratio patrimonii*, tog je službenika zamijenio *dispensator arcae patrimonii*.

85 Pretpostaviti je da bi tada njezin puni naziv bio eksplicitno naveden na natpisu, gdje međutim stoji samo *Caesaris Augusti dispensator*.

81 This was Baebius Massa, mentioned by Tacitus (*Hist.*, IV, 50) at this post in 69 AD. It has therefore been concluded in the scholarly literature that the procurator's office was established at the time of Nero at the latest – Weaver 1972, p. 255; Starac 1994, p. 140.

82 On Vespasian's reorganization of the patrimony, see Boulvert 1970, p. 210 ff.; Camodeca 2007, p. 148.

83 Starac 1994, p. 141.

– da se grobno mjesto njegove obitelji nalazilo na području koje nije ulazilo u centurirani dio salonitanskog agera;

– da se slijedom toga navedeno zemljište ubrajalo u *subseciva agri*;

– da je imovina te kategorije u imovinsko-pravnom smislu administrirana kao *ager publicus*, prvotno pod suverenitetom rimske države, a zatim u carskoj vlasnosti;

– da su *agri publici* zbog Vespazijanovih, Titovih i Domicijanovih reformi preustrojeni, te su postali područja od posebnog interesa;

– da je Amempto bio carski rob unutar *familia Caesaris*, i to potkraj julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije i početkom Vespazijanove vladavine.

Ne može, na koncu, biti posljedica koincidencije što su do sada najveće rimskodobne nekropole na splitskom poluotoku ustanovljene upravo na njegovu sjeverozapadnom izdanku, u predjelima Poljud i Lora. Nedavno katalogizirani arheološki nalazi i grobni prilozi s one smještene nedaleko od obale u uvali između poluotoka Mali rat i Lora, na maloj udaljenosti od Orhivijeve grobnice (oko 300 m), pokazuju kontinuitet sepulkralne namjene protegnut od druge polovine 1. stoljeća sve do 3., eventualno 4. stoljeća.<sup>86</sup> Taj zaključak unekoliko potkrepljuju i najnoviji nalazi rubnog dijela *villae rusticae* u Lori, u neposrednoj blizini.<sup>87</sup> Otkopani periferni dio gospodarskog objekta, njegov jugoistočni potez, obasezao je čak i u tako parcijalnim dimenzijama prostor od 16,5 × 11 m, tako da se može očekivati da je glavnina kompleksa bila prilično monumentalnih razmjera. Sklop je, prema preliminarnim rezultatima arheoloških istraživanja, evoluirao u barem dvije faze, a prema pokretnim nalazima raspon korištenja građevine potpuno korespondira kronologiji obližnje nekropole (od polovine 1. do 4. st.). Razložno je, stoga, pretpostaviti da su ta dva areala bila u funkcionalnoj vezi te da su činila dio manje naseobinske aglomeracije (*vicus*?) na ovom dijelu salonitanskog agera. Premda je još preuranjeno donositi dalekosežnije zaključke o karakteru građevine, moglo bi se čak raditi o carskom objektu, tj. upravnom središtu jednog državnog imanja (*praetorium fundi*?), ali to je sve što se o tome za sada smije reći. Arheološka verifikacija carskih posjeda na terenu još je uvijek slabo razvijena: svodi se najčešće na proučavanje epigrafičkih ili toponomastičkih podataka

them between imperial and municipal sovereignties (imperial procurators were solely authorized to determine labour and tax liabilities, while urban magistrates lost civic jurisdiction over lease-holders and *coloni*). Thus, from the very start it was clear that first Flavian emperor wanted a clear demarcation between imperial properties and the surrounding territories, an unambiguous definition of the rights and obligations of those cultivating the land, and precise internal and external regulation of property rights and jurisdictions.

Now that the historical, political and economic context in which Poljud inscription of Amemptus emerged has been ascertained in greater detail, there are firmer foundations for the examination of the possible causes and motives for its emergence.

Given the congruent situation in Histria and elsewhere in the Empire's territory, a justifiable assumption is that in the vicinity of Salona – where an office to administer imperial property operated – *dispensatores* could also have been employed on the imperial rural lands outside of the city, such as Poljud. The function of *dispensator* has been epigraphically documented on inscriptions from Salona. This service was always performed by imperial slaves, members of the *familia Caesaris*. A tomb of the family of an imperial slave/*dispensator* was registered precisely in an area that was legally subject to the status of *ager publicus*, administered by the *fiscus*; the local origin of the sepulchral inscription has been well-documented. The comprehensive reorganization of the imperial properties in the Roman state was conducted by Emperor Vespasian and his immediate successors, more firmly organizing relations between the estates and surrounding territories, with particular interest accorded to the *ager publicus* and more rigorous supervision thereof. The inscriptions of the Orchivii family, imperial slaves and officials, date to the end of Nero's reign and the beginning of Vespasian's rule, and both originated in territory that belonged to the imperial *fiscus*. All of this reaffirms the hypothesis on the existence of a state-owned and then imperial estate on the north western edge of the Split peninsula.

The available *ager publicus* was granted for lease to contractors (*mancipes*) who were in turn obliged to pay *frumentum mancipale* in kind. The revenues from these lands were collected in the central office in Rome, in which the *dispensatores frumenti mancipalis* were employed. At the provincial level, these same officials were recorded, but only in the late Principate and in a small number of cases, e.g. CIL II, 1197:

86 Nikolanci 1952, str. 192-196; Piplović 1976; Cambi 1985-1986, str. 102-103; Rismondo 2002, str. 257. O antičkom groblju u Lori usp. najnovije Buljević 2010, osobito str. 85 i 187.

87 Piteša 2009, str. 629-631.

relevantnih za određena područja, dok o fizičkom izgledu, tipologiji i ekonomskom funkcioniranju tih imanja kao gospodarskih jedinica i dalje nije provedeno dostatno istraživačkih predradnji da bi se moglo doći do decidiranijih zaključaka.<sup>88</sup>

Kao i u slučaju centurije 5-6/K-L na kojoj se nalazila Dioklecijanova palača, područje Poljuda unutar krnje centurije 4-5/G-H po svemu sudeći uopće nije bilo atribuirano salonitanskoj koloniji prigodom njezine dedukcije te, posljedično, nije mogla biti provedena ni adsignacija tog prostora najviše muni- cipalnom upravnom tijelu (*ordo colonorum*) jer je ovaj pod režimom *ius subsecivorum* bio izuzet i uživao poseban status *ager publicus e iure Quiritium*. U tom je slučaju taj nepotpuno centurirani prostor bio podvrgnut posebnoj upravi, koju je zadržao i dalje kao državno, odnosno carsko dobro. Natpisom Gaja Orhivija Amempta potvrđuje se zaključak do kojega se dolazi i bez prozopografskih podataka sadržanih u njem – proučavanjem sustava agerske limitacije i rimske agrimenzorske prakse.

*Pius Aug(usti) n(ostri) verna dispensator [frumen]t(i) mancip(alis).*<sup>84</sup>

Given the late confirmation of this post and its meagre presence in the sources, it is impossible to ascertain whether the *dispensator* Amemptus was in fact responsible for the *frumenta mancipalis*, even though this possibility should not be rejected entirely.<sup>85</sup> Regardless, however, of whether Amemptus was a supervisor of revenues in the service so organized at the time (or in some differently organized predecessor), the following facts remain:

- the grave plot of his family was located in an area that did not belong to the centuriated part of the Salona ager;

- this land was, as a result, counted in the *subse- civa agri*;

- the property of this category in the legal sense was administered as *ager publicus*, initially under the sovereignty of the Roman state, and then under imperial authority;

- the *agri publici* were reorganized as a result of the reforms of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, and they became areas of special interest;

- Amemptus was an imperial slave in the *familia Caesaris* at the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and the beginning of Vespasian's rule.

Finally, it cannot be coincidental that the largest Roman-era necropolises on the Split peninsula were established precisely on its north western branch, in the Poljud and Lora sections. The recently catalogued archaeological finds and grave goods from those situated near the seashore in the cove between the Mali Rat peninsula and Lora, at a small distance from the Orchivii tomb (approximately 300 m), demonstrate continuity of sepulchral use from the 1<sup>st</sup> century until the 3<sup>rd</sup>, and possibly 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>86</sup> This conclusion is also backed by the most recent finds of the peripheral part of a *villa rustica* in Lora, in the immediate vicinity.<sup>87</sup> Even under such partial dimensions, the excavated peripheral part of a non-residential outbuilding, its southeast section, encompassed a space of 16.5 x 11 m, so that monumental proportions can be expected for the majority of the complex. According to the

88 Na što upozorava Matijašić 1988a, str. 78-83; Matijašić 1988b.

84 Vulić 1922, pp. 1921-1922. Once *ager publicus* entirely became part of the imperial *ratio patrimonii* during the reign of Septimius Severus, this official was replaced with the *dispensator arcae patrimonii*.

85 It is to be assumed that the full title would have been explicitly stated in the inscription; however, the latter only has *Caesaris Augusti dispensator*.

86 Nikolanci 1952, pp. 192-196; Piplović 1976; Cambi 1985-1986, pp. 102-103; Rismondo 2002, p. 257. On the necropolis in Lora, cf. the most recent Buljević 2010, particularly pp. 85 and 187.

87 Piteša 2009, pp. 629-631.



preliminary results of archaeological research, the complex evolved in a minimum of two phases, and based on the movable finds, the time of the building's use corresponded to the chronology of the nearby necropolis (from the mid-1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries). It is therefore reasonable to assume that these two locales were functionally linked, and that they formed part of a smaller inhabited agglomeration (*vicus*?) in this part of the Salona ager. Although it is still too early to make any farther-reaching conclusions on the character of the structure, it could even have been an imperial building, i.e., an administrative centre for a state-owned estate (*praetorium fundi*?), but this is all that can be said about this now. Archaeological verification of imperial properties in the field is still rather poorly developed: it is most often limited to studying the epigraphic or toponomastic data relevant to specific fields, while the physical appearance, typological and economic functioning of these estates as economic units has still not been subjected to adequate research-related preparatory work in order to reach definitive conclusions.<sup>88</sup>

As in the case of century 5-6/K-L on which Diocletian's Palace was located, the territory of Poljud inside truncated century 4-5/G-H was by all indications not attributed to the Salona colony during its deduction and, as a result, this area could not have even been assigned to the highest municipal administrative body (*ordo colonorum*), because under the *ius subsecivorum* it was exempt and enjoyed the special status of *ager publicus e iure Quiritium*. In this case, this entire incompletely centuriated area was subject to special administration, which it continued to retain as a state-owned or imperial property. The inscription of Gaius Orchivius Amemptus confirms the conclusion reached even without the prosopographic data contained therein – by studying the system of ager boundaries and Roman land survey practices.

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88 Pointed out by Matijašić 1988a, pp. 78-83; Matijašić 1988b.

## KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AJP	American Journal of Philology, Baltimore
Arheol. rad. raspr.	Arheološki radovi i rasprave, Zagreb
Bull. dalm.	Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata, Spalato
CQ	Classical Quarterly, Oxford
Diz. Ep.	Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane, Roma
HAD	Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, Zagreb
HA	Histria Antiqua, Pula
Hort. Art. Mediev.	Hortus Artium Medievalium. Zagreb - Motovun
ILS	Inscriptiones latinae selectae, vol. I-III, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin 1892-1916.
Izdanja HAD-a	Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, Zagreb
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies, London
OA	Opuscula archaeologica, Zagreb
Stud. Ant. Archaeol.	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
VAHD / VAPD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku/ Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku, Split
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Köln

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